

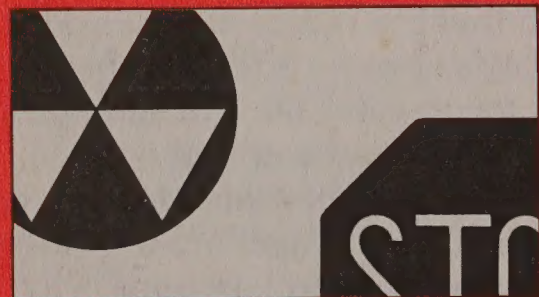
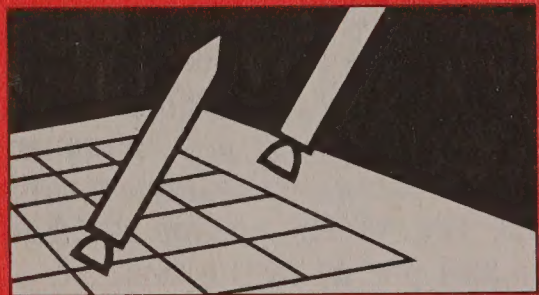
JANUARY 1983

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# •NUCLEAR• TIMES

## THE TOP ISSUES OF

# '83



## & WHAT TO DO ABOUT THEM

A NEWSMAGAZINE ON THE ANTI-NUCLEAR WEAPONS MOVEMENT

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ANDREAS WERNIGER



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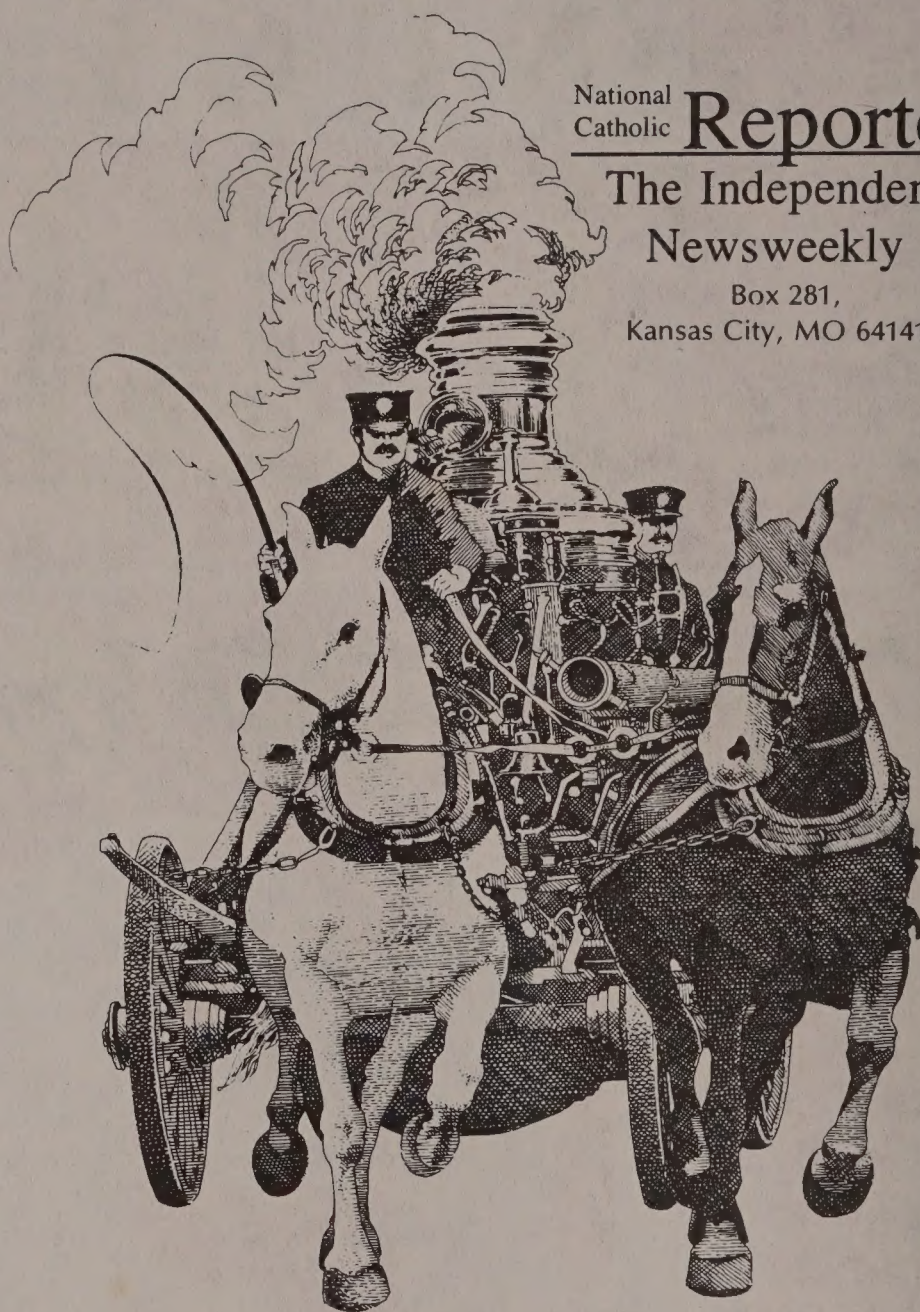
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LETTERS

## Disarming Comments

Congratulations on an extraordinary effort. But I think your use of the term "disarmament movement" is not quite accurate. First, I would argue that what is on people's minds is "how to prevent nuclear war" rather than how to "disarm." Thus, I think "antinuclear war" movement is more accurate and more embracing. A second, and less critical, point is the use of the term "movement" which I think understates the nature of "what's happening" and the challenge of "what has to happen." I prefer the term "reformation" or possibly "a second American revolution."

—Roger Molander  
Ground Zero  
Washington, D.C.

## Power Play

Bravo! But I think it would be good if you could include news of the antinuclear power movement, too, as it seems that the Administration is pushing nuclear power at least partly because it wants the plutonium for weapons.

—Mary Davenport  
Chicago, Ill.

## Ties That Bind

Congratulations on an excellent premier issue. I thought we were in pretty close

touch with what was going on around the country because of our travels, but you certainly had a lot of news I didn't know. More importantly, it is just this kind of information on a regular basis that will give all of our efforts cohesion and mortar as we go forward.

—Betty Bumpers  
Peace Links  
Washington, D.C.

## Unions Concerned

There are millions of union members in this country who have deep concerns about things nuclear. It would be nice if your magazine could start circulating among union networks. This is not beyond the realm of possibility—seven large unions have passed pro-freeze resolutions.

—Richard Grossman  
Environmentalists for  
Full Employment  
Washington, D.C.

## Genie No Dream

The solution to avoiding nuclear annihilation is not the elimination, or even the "control" of nuclear weapons; the genie is out of the bottle, everyone has seen the genie, and it is not possible to erase the genie from everyone's memory (e.g., Israel, France, India, and who knows how many others besides the USA and USSR). The solution to avoiding nuclear

annihilation is to convince everyone on Spaceship Earth that we are all God's children and that it is His desire that we live peacefully together. This is inherently a sociological problem, not a problem with controlling technology.

—Anthony R. Benedetto  
San Antonio, Tex.

## Back To Square One

Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s letter of commitment to nuclear weapons control "as the overshadowing issue of our age" (Nov./Dec.'82) declares, as a contingency, "we must never falter in the search for *reciprocal* and *verifiable* means of reduction and abolition" (my emphasis).

Surely, not seeking to carp, it is evident that Schlesinger's conditions to his prime cause can easily become negating factors, loopholes, from his antinuclear protestations. Its end logic arrives in the peacekeeping position of such as Caspar Weinberger and President Reagan. It is Liberal mealy-mouthedness.

—Louis Linden  
New York, N.Y.

Dr. Joel I. Brooke, retired president of the Fund for Peace and an early supporter of this magazine, passed away in November after a short illness. He was 67 years old and lived in Noroton, Conn.

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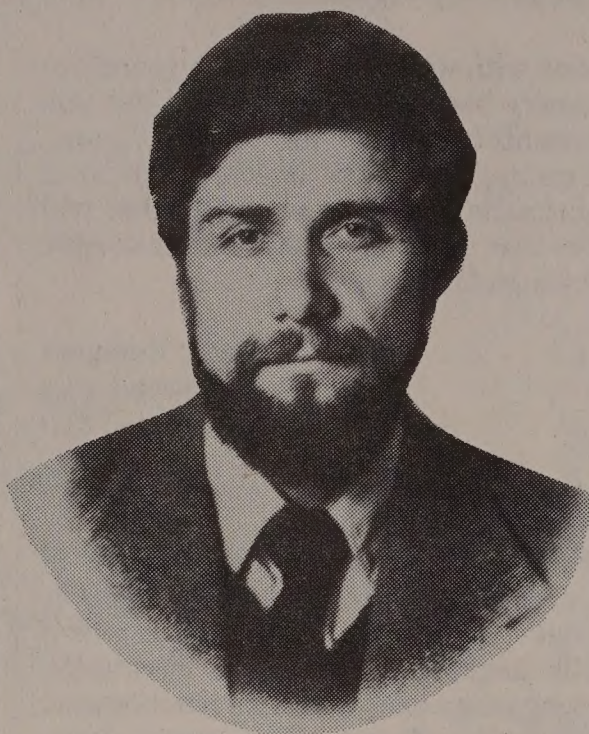
# • EARLY WARNINGS •

**GRANDMOTHER SHOULD KNOW:** Although the *Washington Post* eventually retracted its charge that Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is a "Soviet stooge group," publisher Donald Graham should have known better from the start. In 1961 his grandmother, Agnes Meyer, a member of WILPF, ran a WILPF-sponsored seminar in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, entitled "The Historic Conference at Bryn Mawr on Soviet-American Women." Twelve women were brought over from the Soviet Union to participate and several local newspapers provided coverage.

**REES STRIKES AGAIN:** When the Writers and Publishers Alliance for Disarmament asked the *Christian Science Monitor* to run a public service advertisement, the *Monitor* was glad to oblige. The WPA ad, which informed readers about sources of information on the arms race, noted two groups in particular. Shortly after the ad ran on November 5, the *Monitor* received a letter from a person (described, according to some sources, as someone highly placed in Washington) that charged one of the groups—the Council for a Livable World—as being a Soviet front. The source for this claim, the letter said, was an article in *Western Goals Report*. This right-wing publication is edited by John Rees, who provided much of the unsubstantiated information used by John Barron in his notorious red-baiting article in the *Reader's Digest*. (See "Rees to Barron to Reagan," NUCLEAR TIMES, Nov/Dec 1982.)

Kenneth Eggert, advertising business manager at the *Monitor*, will not identify who wrote the letter, but he says the writer is not a member of the Administration. After receiving the letter, the *Monitor* "did some preliminary checking," Eggert says. "There is an awful lot of innuendo these days about all kinds of groups, and we wanted to see what is going on here." But after "preliminary checking," he adds, the *Monitor* was not able to "verify anything definitive" about the Council, which boasts as directors astronomer Carl Sagan, former U.S. Representative Robert Drinan, and Paul Warnke, the chief U.S. negotiator for the SALT II treaty. (George Kistiakowsky, who died last month, was chairman of the Council. He was President Eisenhower's chief science advisor and one of the scientists who helped develop the atomic bomb.) "But," Eggert adds, "it is still being looked into."

**POPOV AFFAIR:** When Dr. Oleg Popov, a Soviet emigre, arrived in London on



Popov: A "devastating blow" at END?

November 5, he did not expect, he says, to cause a stir. But by the time he left, four days later, Popov, who claimed he was the spokesman for the Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., the independent Soviet disarmament campaign, had sparked a controversy that was seen by many as a direct attack on E.P. Thompson, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and European Nuclear Disarmament. In a letter to *The Times* (London), Popov criticized Thompson, END, and CND for advocating "destabilising unilateral disarmament." In interviews he said that the Soviet group opposes any unilateral action and that the Labor Party's commitment to remove all nuclear weapons from British bases is suicidal. While in London, Popov allied himself with two peace groups who oppose CND and are closely linked to the Conservative Party.

Thompson, in a reply printed in *The Times*, said that Popov's visit seemed designed to aim a "devastating blow" at END. He noted that the objective of END and CND is multilateral and reciprocal disarmament and that unilateral measures are advocated as just one way to achieve this end.

"Popov's visit did a lot of damage," says Cathy Fitzpatrick of Helsinki Watch in New York. "It created a lot of doubt in people's mind about the Soviet group—whether it deserves support." Mikhail Ostrovsky, a founding member of the Soviet group who now lives in New York (See "Interview," p. 19.), says that the group does not have any anti-unilateralism position and that Popov does not reflect the group's view.

Popov, who has now settled in the

United States, says that "maybe there was some misunderstanding." He admits that he is not "the group's spokesman in the West," as he claimed in *The Times*. Popov, who was a member of the Moscow branch of Amnesty International, says he was an "unofficial member" of the group, that he served as a legal adviser, and that before he left Moscow members of the group asked him to gather support for them, disseminate their documents, and explain their positions. Although Popov says he still opposes any unilateral measures, he also says that he now has no doubt about the "honest intentions" of CND and END and that he was very upset that his letter was seen as a personal attack on Thompson. As for his plans now, Popov, a physicist, does not expect to cause as much of a fuss in the United States. He is preoccupied with finding a job and a place to live. But he says he is willing to discuss his views with anyone who will listen.

**LEFEVER RETURNS:** The U.S. Information Agency has allocated \$192,000 to a Washington, D.C., think-tank for a series of conferences on the ethical implications of the arms race. The recipient of the grant is Ernest Lefever's Ethics and Public Policy Center. You may remember Lefever as President Reagan's first choice for the post of assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs. Lefever's red-baiting attacks on his critics—a coalition of liberal, religious, and human rights groups—helped ensure the rejection of his nomination in June 1981. It was also learned at that time that Lefever had received contributions from Nestle and other infant-formula manufacturers while his think-tank was busy trying to discredit the World Council of Churches' boycott of Nestle products.

Now his Ethics and Public Policy Center is responsible for conducting three seminars in Europe and one in Washington, focusing "on the ethics of nuclear weapons and arms control," according to Phyllis Kaminsky, director of public liaison at USIA, which takes its policy guidance from the State Department. "The idea is to get people together for an exchange of views on the theological and ethical implications of nuclear deterrence," says Raymond English, vice president of the Center. But, he admits, "it is not quite clear if there will be a broad spectrum of views." He adds that at each seminar, which will be attended mostly by invited clergy, there will be official representation of the U.S. government and NATO position.



**RALLY REELS:** If you marched in the June 12 rally, you might have the chance to see yourself at the movies. As hundreds of thousands rallied in New York last spring, 35 film crews recorded the event. Now, says Robert Richter of the June 12 Film Group, four editors are busy trimming 19 miles of film to make a feature-length movie. The film will cover the performances and speeches of James Taylor, Randall Forsberg, Linda Ronstadt, Pete Seeger, Judd Hirsch, and Helen Caldicott. "It will also examine why there was a June 12, how it was organized, what happened, and where we go now," says Richter, an independent documentary producer.

If everything goes well, says Richter, the film could be finished in April and distributed nationally soon after. But money might be a problem. The film is budgeted at \$200,000. Although Richter says a major studio has expressed interest in the film and has provided some financial assistance, it has not yet made a full commitment. "We're waiting to see if they carry it forward," Richter adds.

**DOLLARS & SENSE:** The ultimate in representing taxpayers is to make sure that they don't end up paying for their own annihilation, says Sid Taylor, research director of the National Taxpayers Un-

ion. While the Union, which lobbies in Washington for reduced government spending, lines up with President Reagan on the balanced budget amendment and other conservative fiscal issues, it has left him behind on the arms race. In his column in the January issue of the Union's newsletter, *Dollars and Sense*, Taylor comes out strongly for a multilateral freeze—for both fiscal and survival reasons.

While he cannot speak for the Union's 150,000 members, Taylor says that its leadership has endorsed his call for a freeze. "It's a statistical problem," he says of the arms race. "You give enough people enough warheads, and we'll blow ourselves to hell." And, he adds, "The economy of both sides can't afford the arms race. It's like keeping up with the Joneses, in our case, Ivan Jones."

**INVESTING IN WAR:** As a result of the arms race most of the money the federal government spends on research and development gets swallowed up by the military. So says a new study that reports that the two superpowers invest at least twice as much for research on military programs as for all civilian needs. In fiscal year 1982, the U.S. government spent \$22 billion on military research and only \$11.3 billion on civilian R&D, according

to *World Military and Social Expenditures, 1982*, by Ruth Leger Sivard, formerly chief of the economics division of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Although exact figures are not available, Soviet R&D investment follows the same pattern, says Sivard.

**THE LEAGUE JOINS IN:** Over the past year more and more "mainstream" groups, such as the Young Women's Christian Association and the National Education Association, have begun to address the issue of nuclear war. Now the League of Women Voters has instituted a two-track program that will guide the League into taking an advocacy position concerning U.S. national security and military policy, according to Dorothy Powers, chairwoman of the League of Women Voters' national security study.

The League is now conducting a study aimed at arriving at a consensus opinion on arms control criteria. While the study, which should be completed by the spring, is being prepared, the League will be educating its own membership on national security, military policy, and defense spending. Once the study and education drive are completed the League will actively promote its findings and position. "Our ultimate objective is to be action-oriented," says Powers. □

Can nuclear war be limited?

Would a conventional war in Europe escalate into global nuclear war?

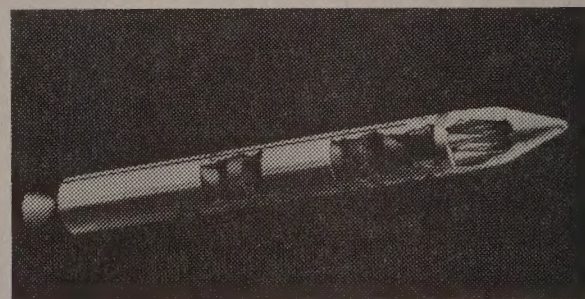
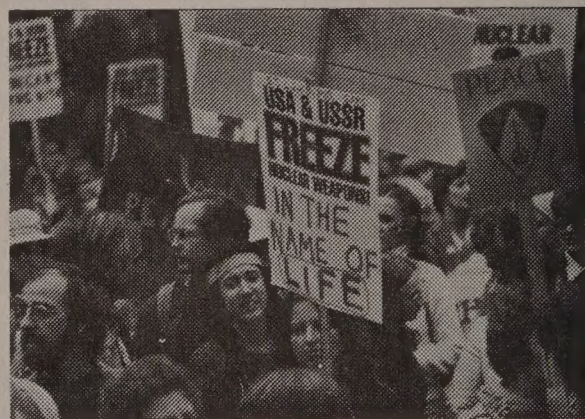
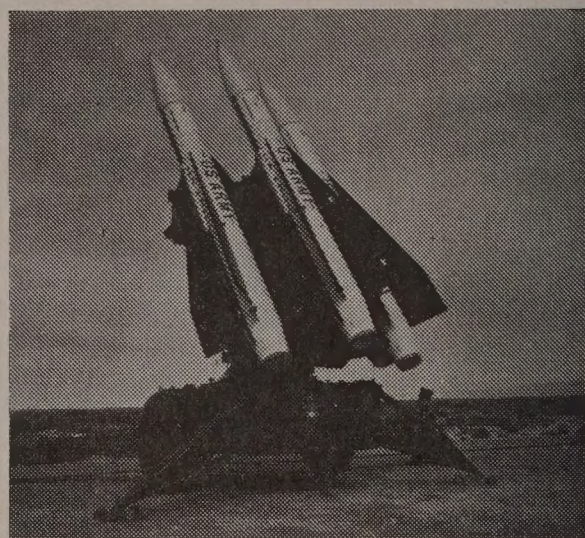
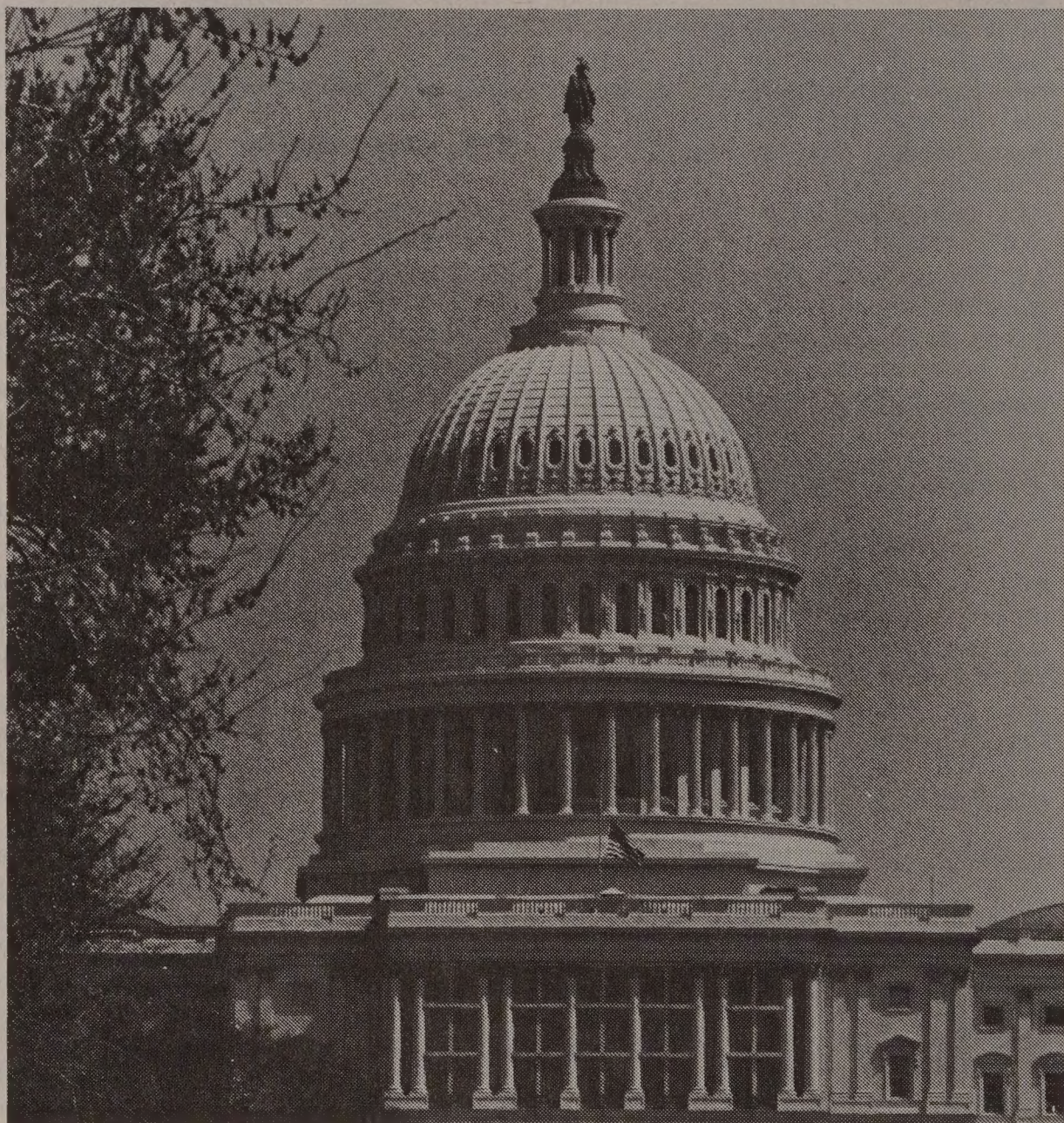
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MOVEMENT TACTICS



# Growing Bold In Washington

**W**hen funding for production of the MX came up for a vote in the House Appropriations Committee on December 2, Representative Virginia Smith, who holds one of the safest Republican seats in the House, voted for the MX and helped send it to the House floor. Five days later, Smith was one of the 245 House members who voted to delete \$998 million in production funds for the MX missile from the 1983 military appropriations bill. Between these two votes Smith had received several hundred anti-MX calls from her constituents back home in Nebraska's farm country. Although Smith says she voted for the MX in committee only because she thought it deserved consideration by the full House, one of her aides admits that the lobbying effort and the grassroots opposition to the MX made the difference.

Representative Steven Gunderson,

who usually sides with the military, was another Republican defector on the House vote. By mid-morning on the day of the floor vote his office received over 70 calls from constituents in Wisconsin urging a vote against the MX. During the previous week Gunderson had been deluged with anti-MX letters and calls. An aide said that this outpouring of opposition was a key factor in Gunderson's vote.

"I hope people see the power that they have," says David Cortright, executive director of SANE in Washington, D.C. "If we keep up the pressure this could be a historic turning point. There's never been a direct defeat of a weapons system in Congress before. This should inspire people to great efforts."

Following the House vote, many anti-nuclear lobbyists and activists called it "a shot in the arm." April Moore, coordinator of the National Campaign to Stop the MX, says the vote against the MX will

make other weapons systems vulnerable. "It is now becoming respectable in Congress," she adds, "to voice doubts and oppose specific systems, without appearing soft on defense."

But the antinuclear movement still has its work cut out for it in 1983. In fact, two days after the vote, the House voted, 346 to 68, to provide \$2.5 billion in research and development funds for the MX. "Like old soldiers, old weapons never die," Cortright says. "We need consistent vigilance."

Nevertheless, most activists expressed optimism following the MX vote. "This is a watershed point," says Moore. "It will draw more people in for the fights ahead."

While the battle against the MX will continue this year, the agenda of the movement is filled with a variety of other projects: stopping the European theater weapons (Pershing II and cruise), cut-



ting the military budget, and enacting a comprehensive test ban treaty, a congressional freeze resolution, a no-first-use-bill, jobs-for-peace legislation, a ban on chemical weapons and non-proliferation legislation. This is in addition to an expanded emphasis on grassroots organizing—a number of nationwide events are planned for late winter and early spring.

The peace groups seem to agree, in general, that their focus should be on Capitol Hill, where they can best use the political leverage won in last year's freeze referenda and MX vote, and where time is running out to halt deployment of the newest generation of nuclear weapons. "We have to move beyond the symbolic successes and try to achieve some concrete results to limit the arms race," Cortright says.

For the Pershing II and cruise missiles, it is almost a now-or-never situation. Both are short-range missiles scheduled to begin going into place in Europe within the next 12 months. Altogether 108 Pershing IIs are planned for West Germany and 464 cruise missiles for Britain, Italy, West Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. "There's no question they will be destabilizing," says John Isaacs, legislative director of the Council for a Livable World. But can Congress be persuaded to cut off money for these missiles? "I don't think so," says Isaacs. "If anyone is going to stop the Pershing and cruise, it will have to be the Europeans."

Production of these missiles is so far along that most members of Congress seem inclined to let them continue. At least five peace groups have the Pershing and cruise listed among their lobbying items, but, according to Sanford Gottlieb, executive director of United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War, "Our chances of winning on the missiles are not very good." For that reason, it appears to be the movement's good fortune that Reagan chose to push the highly-vulnerable MX so hard and so visibly.

The freeze issue, however, is still very much alive. A freeze resolution, which lost in the House by two votes in 1982, will be reintroduced in the next session and should pass easily this time, due to the new make-up, and mood, of Congress. (There is speculation among some freeze activists that President Reagan, fearing another high-profile defeat, may ignore the resolution, and then, after it has been quietly approved by the House, declare it irrelevant.) To make sure it passes, and to attract another round of media attention, there will be a Freeze Lobbying Convocation on March 7-8 organized by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. Delegations from around the country will assemble in Washington,

D.C., for a large entertainment event, probably a rock concert, and a day of seminars. From there they will proceed to the Hill, dividing up according to congressional districts, to visit House members personally.

Plans for the Convocation were part of the discussion at a recent gathering of representatives from 30 peace groups at Coolfont, West Virginia. Participants in this conference repeatedly called for the groups to develop more ways of working together, rather than at cross purposes as sometimes has happened in the past. Already an informal coalition of about 20 groups (or more, depending on the press of legislative business), called the "Monday Lobbying Group," meets every Monday morning to help coordinate lobbying strategies.

In a larger sense, though, the conferees at Coolfont talked about the need to build coalitions with groups and individuals not usually affiliated with the peace movement. Of the strategies under discussion, the one with the widest appeal seems to be to "link the nation's eco-

nomie condition, and high unemployment, with the rising Pentagon budget," as Cora Weiss of New York's Riverside Church Disarmament puts it.

Leslie Kagan, national co-facilitator of Mobilization for Survival (MOBE), seconds the idea. "In talking about nuclear weapons we must speak to America's economic and general social crisis," Kagan says. Jay Hedlund, a lobbyist for Common Cause, mentions a catchphrase that has become increasingly effective with fiscal conservatives: "Throwing money at defense proposals doesn't work any better than throwing money at social programs." A "Jobs with Peace" week is being planned for April 10-16 by a coalition group called the National Jobs with Peace Network. In addition, a "Peace With Justice" week and a "Peace Sabbath Day" are in the works for late May.

In recruiting terms, this strategy is aimed chiefly at blue-collar workers and the unions that represent them. Many of the older peace groups see 1983 as an opportunity to bring in dramatic numbers of new members.

## U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

# The Games Superpowers Play



Sometime this spring residents in many communities across the United States will find themselves targets of a Soviet nuclear attack—a fictitious Soviet attack, that is. It will all be part of a Ground Zero scenario aimed at illustrating how a nuclear war could break out between the United States and the Soviet Union. This "war/peace game," known as "Firebreaks," will be played out over a six-week period, with "moves" (publicized nationwide in the media) occurring once a week for the first five weeks and every day for the last week.

Ground Zero has not yet sketched the exact scenario. But the first "moves" might detail a hypothetical Middle East crisis in which Israel and/or one or more Arab nations use nuclear weapons. Future "moves" would have this crisis escalate into a U.S.-Soviet conflict. During the last week the scenario will split and follow two paths: one leading to an all-out nuclear exchange, the other ending with

a peaceful resolution.

The game's purpose, says Carol Jacobs of Ground Zero, will be to emphasize strategic and conventional arms control, nuclear non-proliferation, and especially the overall importance of improving relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Along with the "war/peace game", Ground Zero plans to publish a primer similar in style to its *Nuclear War: What's In It For You?* which will examine the role of the Soviet Union and U.S.-Soviet relations in the prevention of nuclear war. "The book will have some relation to the war game," says Jacobs. "One thing it will show is that improving overall relations between the United States and the Soviet Union influences the efficiency of all other 'firebreaks'—the ways to prevent the escalation toward nuclear war."

Like Ground Zero, the Committee for National Security is making better U.S.-Soviet relations a top priority for 1983. The Committee is developing a program that will concentrate on destroying myths about the Soviet Union. At the center of its campaign will be a conference, to be held in Washington, D.C., next June, which will focus on how to improve relations, according to Stephanie deSibour of the Committee.

This is no easy task. "By no means are we underestimating the difficulties," says Jacobs. "The mutual suspicions are not insignificant."

—D.C.



"An increasing number of doors are opening for the movement at the community level," says Cortright. SANE recently began working with professional athletes, the Southern Baptist Church, labor unions, the Rocky Mountain Farmer's Union, the National Taxpayers Union, and the Libertarian Party. A Spanish-speaking field organizer for SANE works with the Catholic Archdiocese in Los Angeles.

Common Cause, which held 48 public education workshops last fall, is experiencing a boom in membership, according to lobbyist Hedlund. To unite several non-disarmament groups that recently discovered the issue, Citizens Against Nuclear War was formed last fall by Terry Herndon of the National Education Association. At present, 33 organizations are involved, and there is a campaign underway to show people how they

can participate in the movement through existing groups that are not necessarily peace groups.

Perhaps the most ambitious event on this year's calendar is the "Mass Demonstrations for Jobs, Peace and Freedom" set for August 27-28 in Washington, marking the 20th anniversary of Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. Cora Weiss and Chad Dobson of SANE have been meeting with Coretta Scott King and other black leaders in the hope of creating an event on the scale of last year's June 12th rally in New York. "We've decided to hold only one big rally this year to unite the peace-and-freeze movement with the black movement," Cortright explains.

For all the effort going into unity and coalition-building, however, certain historical conflicts are still very much in evidence. One is the question of geography: should so much time and energy be spent in Washington or should it go into what are called grassroots activities? "We must not fall into the trap of working exclusively in the electoral arena," says Leslie Kagan of MOBE. "We must maintain the full range of our techniques—education work, mass marches, vigils, petition campaigns, die-ins, rallies, even non-violent civil disobedience. Nor should we get bogged down just in the freeze. It's a good first step, but now we have to lay the groundwork for bolder steps."

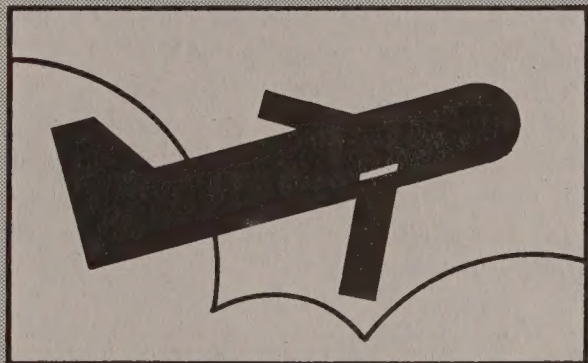
Without disagreeing directly, Cortright insists that the political health of the movement depends on proving its influence in elections and then making use of that influence afterwards in Congress. Both SANE and the Council for a Livable World already are making preparations for the 1984 elections to follow up on their "Doomsday Dozen" campaign of 1982. "We have to display the ability to unseat those who oppose us," Cortright says. "Otherwise we won't be taken seriously."

Even among the "Monday Lobbying Group," whose members agree on the importance of work in Washington, there is seldom any unanimity on a given approach. Should there be compromises in the wording of the proposed test ban treaty? Where can the military budget be realistically cut? And should there only be concern about what is "realistic"?

Some in the movement warn against focusing too specifically on nuclear weapons systems. Kagan argues that "the nuclear disarmament debate should draw attention to the conventional arms race. In our reading of things nuclear war is most likely to escalate from a conventional war." This view is echoed by Weiss: "There should not be a simple trade off of a nuclear weapons arms race

## CRUISE AND PERSHING II

# Stopping Euromissiles At Home



Once these missiles are put in, you're starting a whole new arms race," says Donna Cooper, program director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), referring to the cruise and Pershing II missiles. Both missiles are scheduled for NATO deployment in Europe by the end of 1983, and both, say antinuclear weapons activists, will undermine the chance for achieving a nuclear freeze, as well as up the ante in the nuclear arms race. "This will be the real hot issue over the coming year," predicts Chel Avery of the Stop the Cruise and Pershing II Clearinghouse in Philadelphia.

Cruise missiles are small—about 25 feet long—accurate, able to fly a distance of 1500 miles carrying a payload 15 times as powerful as the explosion at Hiroshima, and they can fly low enough to escape radar detection. A Pershing II missile is larger and faster; it travels 1000 miles in less than six minutes. If deployed in West Germany, as NATO plans currently require, a Pershing II could hit Moscow about eight minutes after it was launched.

The deployment of these weapons provides a major threat to the nuclear freeze movement, says Ed Glennon, coordinator of SANE's Euromissile program. "If the Pershing IIs are six minutes away from the Soviet Union," he explains, "the likelihood of the Soviets agreeing to a freeze decreases." Avery adds that the cruise missiles—because of their small size—will be difficult to verify.

For the past few months, representatives of organizations, including Clergy and Laity Concerned, Mobilization for Survival, and the War Resisters League, have attended monthly meetings in Philadelphia hosted by WILPF in an attempt to coordinate their efforts against the Euromissiles. This working group plans to hold a series of seminars on the cruise, Pershing II, and other potential first-strike weapons for local organizers in late winter.

One strategy now being widely considered is for local groups to stage a series of demonstrations next fall across the country at the missiles' production sites, such as the Boeing plant in Kent, Washington, and the McDonnell Douglas plant in St. Louis. These actions will be coordinated with European demonstrations against the missiles. The scheduled deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles is perhaps the most significant factor in the developing alliance between European and American antinuclear weapons activists. "This links us up with Europe," says Avery. "I've seen more transnationalism in the movement recently, and much of it is concerned with these missiles."

The Stop the Cruise and Pershing II Clearinghouse already serves a growing network of about 75 local direct action groups. Several of these groups are based near production sites. But it remains to be seen what the much larger freeze campaign will do on this issue. "I know a lot of people within the campaign who want to take it up," says Ed Glennon. "They may push it to their local activists, even if the campaign does not take a specific stand."

The chances of stopping deployment are slim, says Glennon, "but the chances of delaying deployment up to one year are real good—if the American groups push on it and the European groups push their own governments. We're hoping to buy time until the political situation here improves. Maybe delaying deployment will lead to stopping deployment." —D.C.



for a conventional weapons arms race."

Still, from the accounts of nearly 20 activists interviewed for this article, cooperation among the groups has seldom been so high-spirited. "We have a long way to go," says Jay Hedlund of Common Cause, "but we'll become more well-oiled as people get to know each other better."

—Michael A. Abeshouse and  
Howard Kohn

*Michael Abeshouse and Howard Kohn are Washington correspondents for the Center for Investigative Reporting.*

## ON THE HILL

# Missiles May Cruise Through Congress

**T**he antinuclear weapons movement appears to be riding on a crest: first, the overwhelming victory of the freeze referenda in the November 2 elections; then, on December 7, the remarkably lopsided 245-176 vote in the House of Representatives to stop production of the first five MX missiles.

The next phase of political action for the movement, however, will look and feel very different. Activists will find themselves challenged by almost insurmountable obstacles. The movement will gain a few successes but suffer several crushing defeats as well.

Most of the major antinuclear weapons organizations—SANE, Council for a Livable World, Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, Friends of the Earth and others—are now determined to go after specific weapons systems, to use their new clout as dispensers of money and as heralders of vast public opinion to persuade Congress to vote down nuclear weapons in advance of a bilateral nuclear-freeze agreement between Moscow and Washington.

The MX missile, B-1 bomber, air- and ground-launched cruise missiles, Pershing II missile, and Trident II missile are all in various phases of research and development. Some are about to enter the production and deployment stage. Only two of these programs, the MX and the Pershing II, are in any danger of being stopped right now—and this has more to do with their own flaws than with direct pressure from the movement.

When the House, for example, voted to halt the MX (for now) it was not out of opposition to the missile itself or its

vaunted first-strike capability. Rather, it was largely due to the failure of this Administration to come up with a credibly-secure basing scheme for the MX. Since the Pentagon for six years now has sold the missile primarily on its ability to survive a Soviet first-strike, the lack of a "survivable" base leaves the program vulnerable in several ways. Congress currently considers an MX in a vulnerable basing system to be worse than no MX at all.

The case of the MX points to a valuable principle: the more a weapon seems not to work the way it is supposed to, the easier it is to stop production of the weapon.

This principle certainly holds true with another weapon on the boards, the Pershing II missile. The House Appropriations Committee voted last month not to fund procurement of this weapon

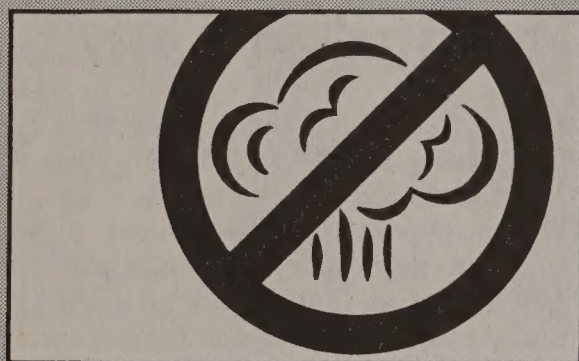
(though, as in the case of the MX, to continue research and development and testing)—not because they find the missile objectionable, but because it has not yet passed a flight test. The first attempt fizzled into a cloud of smoke a few seconds off the launchpad; the second never got off the ground; in the third, a guidance system test held last November, the guidance system didn't work.

However, if the U.S. Army does appear to perform a few successful tests, Congress, Capitol Hill aides report, will certainly give it the money for Pershing II—possibly in time for its scheduled December 1983 deployment date in Western Europe.

Moreover, the failures (thus far) of these two weapons practically ensures the success of a number of others. A good example is the Trident II missile. This weapon is designed to have the same de-

## NUCLEAR FREE ZONES

# A Ban Aid For The Movement



**W**hen Brian Moucka of Lake Elsinore, California began last summer to keep a list of zones that had been declared "nuclear free," he came across such items as a vending booth at the county fair, gardens, offices, city blocks, and a cat named Frisky. The hope, spreading quickly now among a broad range of people opposed to nuclear arms, is that Moucka's Nuclear Free Zone (NFZ) Registry will eventually include whole states and nations.

Last spring, inspired by various European NFZ initiatives, the town councils of Garrett Park and Sykesville, Maryland, voted to ban the production, transport, or deployment of nuclear arms in their area: Proposed highway signs there would welcome drivers with the warning that nuclear weapons are prohibited. On November 2, the citizens of Ashland, Oregon, passed an ordinance that punishes violators of its ban on nuclear arms, energy, and waste storage with 60 days in jail and/or a fine of \$500. In Cambridge, Massachusetts, Boston Mobilization for Survival is organizing a petition drive to place a NFZ referendum on the 1983 ballot, and Wisconsin activists, fresh off the success of their state's freeze campaign, declared NFZ's to be their new goal.

"I think we should do something like this so that we won't lose all the enthusiasm that helped pass the referendums," says Bill Christofferson of Wisconsin's Nuke Watch. "When you declare a nuclear free zone, you're not asking the bureaucrats, politicians, or professional negotiators to do things for you. This is something you start yourself." One of the prime movers in Wisconsin has been a group of students at Malcolm Shabazz City High School in Madison who, after taking a course on the arms race, had their school declared a NFZ and personally delivered a letter to that effect to the White House, Pentagon, and Soviet Embassy.

As pointed out by Albert Donnay of Nuclear Free America, a national clearinghouse for NFZ initiatives in Baltimore, the exact definition of a NFZ depends on the local group or individual. For example, the Wisconsin coalition's four guidelines include renouncing the right to be *defended* by nuclear weapons, while other groups have limited themselves to a basic ban on nuclear arms production and deployment in their zones, or expanded it to include non-participation in crisis relocation plans and bans on uranium mining and nuclear waste storage.

As far as the actual consequences of the often symbolic NFZ declarations are concerned, people should be heartened by the cancellation last July of Britain's biggest and most expensive civil defense exercise in 15 years. Over a hundred local councils, including London and all of Wales, having declared themselves NFZs, refused to play along with the Home Office's nuclear war scenarios and evacuation plans.

—Walter Lew



gree of accuracy and "first-strike capability" as the MX, but it faces no political danger. An amendment, proposed by Representative Thomas Downey, to kill Trident II last July was defeated, 89-312.

In fact, several congressional aides indicate, the anti-MX campaign succeeded only because those voting against the MX could fend off accusations of "unilateral disarmament" by pointing to their favorable votes for the Trident II, a weapon that, they will be eager to boast, can do the same things that the MX can—and, since it will be based in virtually invulnerable submarines, can do it much more efficiently, securely and unprovocatively.

The same is true for the ground-launched cruise missile. The Administration has a great stake in sticking to the decision by the NATO alliance in December 1979 to install U.S. medium-range

missiles in Western Europe. Only a few legislators in the United States have ever opposed this decision. If the medium-range Pershing II is in trouble, the ground-launched cruise missile—as in the MX/Trident trade-off—is all the more secure. As Representative Les Aspin puts it: "It's very difficult to kill something if there's nothing to take its place."

As for that other cruise missile, the one launched from a bomber in the sky, there seems to be no groundswell of opposition. None of the antinuclear organizations seems hopeful that anything can be gained by spending time and effort working against this weapon. And they will be unable to attract more than a couple of dozen legislators in any campaign to down the B-1 bomber unless the air-launched cruise missile—which supposedly will improve the performance of the elderly B-52 bomber fleet—is fully

funded.

On the B-1, Representative Ron Dellums offered an amendment to remove the \$4 billion for production of the bomber last July. The motion lost by 115 votes instead of by an even wider margin only because the Air Force is developing a still more "modern" bomber called the Stealth, which will be ready for production in the late 1980's. Most of the congressmen voting with Dellums are not against a new bomber per se; they are for getting rid of the B-1 to make room for an accelerated Stealth. And, unless the Administration changes its mind, the Air Force will probably get *two* bombers. One day after the House stopped the MX, it fully funded the B-1 by a voice vote.

Dozens of freeze supporters back the B-1, the cruise, the Trident II. Dellums refers to this as "an absurdity." But most legislators do not equate support for a nuclear freeze with consistent opposition to U.S. nuclear weapons programs. Explains Representative Nicholas Mavroules, who favors the freeze but supports the Trident II: "A freeze has got to be mutually agreed to by the two superpowers. I am not going to lay down my arms and say to the Soviets, 'You can keep on building.' That's not my intent, never was."

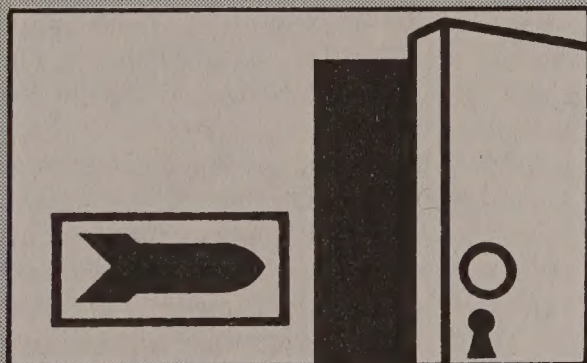
Still, the antinuclear organizations hope, and not without good cause (given last month's MX vote) to change a lot of minds this year. But the movement's political tactics will have to be imaginative. It is worth noting, for example, that of the 32 incumbent candidates that the Council for a Livable World funded in 1982, 14 had voted in favor of the B-1, the Trident II or both. (Only one had supported the MX.) The same is true for three of the 10 incumbents backed by SANE PAC.

Those who have benefited from these PAC contributions will at least lend a more open ear to lobbying by peace groups. Another gain for the movement is the appointment of freeze advocates Edward Kennedy and freshman Jeff Bingaman to the Senate Armed Services Committee. Their presence on the committee will double the (albeit quite small) number of unabashed liberals on the 17-member body. And Kennedy, having pulled out of the 1984 Presidential race, has pledged to work hard on the freeze.

Representative Edward Markey, co-sponsor of the freeze resolution in the House, sees a chance of Congress changing in more fundamental ways as well. Members of Congress, he says, "are coming back saying, 'I don't know what happened out there in 1982, but at the Kiwanis lunch people started asking me about weapons systems.' This is all very

## NON-PROLIFERATION

# Locking The Door To The Nuclear Club



**I**n the more than 37 years since the United States set off its first atomic blast, nuclear technology has spread to over 40 countries. Only four (the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China) have joined the "nuclear club" of countries able to produce nuclear weapons. A recent U.S. intelligence survey, however, predicted that 31 countries will be added to that membership by the year 2000. Thirty-five nations have not signed the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty and 37 of those that did sign "do not have safeguards to help prevent diversion of nuclear materials from power reactors," according to a Union of Concerned Scientists report.

Despite these projections, "there isn't a Reagan non-proliferation policy," Paul Leventhal, president of the Nuclear Control Institute in Washington, D.C., has pointed out. "It's a Reagan proliferation non-policy."

The Administration is "reassessing" its commitment to the International Atomic Energy Agency, which monitors atomic installations to assure that they are not used for military purposes. (The

United States contributes one-quarter of the funding for the IAEA.) Throughout the last session of Congress the Administration opposed an amendment to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's authorization bill that prohibited the use of spent commercial reactor fuel to obtain plutonium for nuclear weapons. The Administration, meanwhile, has been exploiting loopholes in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 to increase nuclear-trade abroad. A bill that would eliminate some of these weaknesses, introduced last year by the recently retired Representative Jonathan Bingham, will be brought up again this year in the House, and Senator William Proxmire has introduced it in the Senate.

Nuclear Control, based in Washington, D.C., has been involved in these legislative actions in Congress, and has joined a broad-based coalition campaigning against the Administration's efforts to build the Clinch River reactor, which would produce more plutonium than it consumes and add tons of plutonium to the nuclear material market. Opponents of the reactor are optimistic about a vote in Congress to cut off funds for its development. But Bill Adler, director of Nuclear Control, points out that "if we win against Clinch it won't be dead. It can come up again next year." Adler says that "most members" of Congress who vote against the reactor do so not because of the proliferation issue but because of its cost—an estimated \$8.5 billion, nearly 13 times its original estimated cost.

—Rachel Burd



much different from anything on the political landscape for a generation."

Markey thinks this new breed of representative might bust up the "iron triangle" formed by the Pentagon, arms manufacturers and key congressional committee members that has tended to exclude the public and non-committee members of Congress from weapons decisions. "What has now happened," Markey says, "is that the public has interjected itself. And now the congressman has to be a broker between the public and the iron triangle, a role he has not played in the past . . . congressmen realize that if they excessively defer to the triangle, there's a political price that will be paid."

Many on Capitol Hill, however, find Markey's prediction farfetched. They note that legislators are subject to other pressures as well: White House power plays, the assumed expertise of military officers, advice of party leadership, vote trades with other members, and defense contractors in their district. For example, Senator Alan Cranston, one of the most forceful freeze advocates in Congress, consistently votes for the B-1 bomber, which is produced by Rockwell International in his home state of California. Cranston is hardly alone in this practice.

In any event, the movement has all year to influence members of Congress and their constituents. Congress is scheduled to vote on the first budget resolution for fiscal year 1984 by May 15. This will set upper limits on the money government can spend on each portion of the budget. Shortly thereafter, the defense authorization bill, passed by the armed services committees, will be considered by the full House and Senate. This will authorize spending for specific military items and weapons. In the fall or winter, the defense appropriations committee bill will hit the floor.

This year's votes will be very important for the future of arms control and the arms race. However, there will be other important votes after that. The Pershing II and cruise missiles are scheduled for deployment late this year, but the Trident II will not be fielded until at least 1989. The missiles moving into production this year—and even the B-1 bomber, already in production—can still be stopped down the road. The battle over the MX will probably have to be fought for years to come.

Even if the antinuclear weapons movement has a limited impact on the next legislative session, the battles in the months ahead may lay the groundwork for a much longer-term campaign.

—Fred Kaplan

*Fred Kaplan, a former legislative assistant in the House, is the author of the forthcoming book, The Wizards of Armageddon.*

## THE FREEZE

# Passing A New Year's Resolution

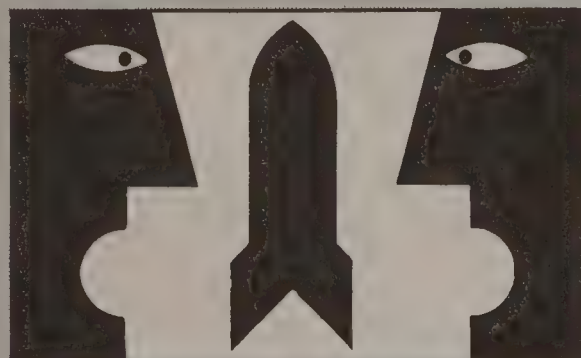
**"T**o be of maximum effectiveness the bilateral freeze must be implemented before the new nuclear weapons systems are introduced," says Randy Kehler, outgoing national coordinator of the freeze campaign. "We must make it clear we are not talking about a freeze at any time. We mean it immediately."

At the meeting of the campaign's national committee in San Francisco in early December, the 60 delegates agreed to make top priority the passage of the freeze resolution in the House of Representatives. Efforts are underway to make the freeze resolution the first piece of legislation introduced in the new session of Congress. A congressional lobbying push by local organizers is scheduled for March 7 and 8 shortly before the House is expected to vote on the freeze. As for the bill's chances, Kehler says he is optimistic. "We're not expecting a large majority," he adds. "It is close enough that we're going to have to work hard."

At the San Francisco strategy session, opinion was divided among the delegates about how to proceed after a House victory. Strategy decisions were postponed until the national freeze convention in

## ARMS TALKS

# Honest Effort Or False Start?



**T**he Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) in Vienna and the Intermediate-range Nuclear Force (INF) talks in Geneva are concentrating on separate issues that are frequently linked by negotiators for each side—medium-range nuclear forces (INF) and intercontinental nuclear forces (START).

**START:** The second round of talks ended on December 2 and will reconvene in February. President Reagan has proposed a ceiling of 850 long-range missiles on both sides (down from 1600 for the United States, and 2,350 for the Soviets). The 850 missiles would be allowed to carry no more than 5000 nuclear warheads, of which only half could be land-based. The Soviets, however, also want to consider long-range bombers and set a limit of 1800 for the combined missile/bomber force of each side. The United States, Tom Longstreth, a research analyst for the Arms Control Association in Washington, D.C., points out, wants to reduce land-based missiles, the Soviet's strongest suit, while "neglecting to mention our bombers and submarine forces, the strongest parts of the U.S. triad." At the crux of the negotiating impasse, however, is a rather serious difference of opinion: Washington contends that the

Russians have an overall "definite margin of superiority," while the Soviets see a general "parity."

Even under Reagan's "reduction" plan, dangerous technological advances would speed right along. Old missiles taken out of commission would be replaced by fewer—but much more precise—systems (such as the MX) capable of a first-strike.

Noting that many issues resolved during SALT II, such as "forward-based systems and throw-weights," are now being stirred up again, Longstreth concludes that there seems to be "little ground for optimism about START during this Administration."

**INF:** In November 1981, President Reagan proposed his "zero option": cancelling the deployment of 572 intermediate-range Pershing IIs and ground-launched cruise missiles (planned for European deployment in December 1983) in exchange for the destruction of all 216, triple-warhead Soviet SS-20s, already deployed. The Soviets argued that Reagan's "zero option" would force them to dismantle missiles aimed at China and would put them at the mercy of NATO missiles in Europe. The Soviets said they would halt their SS-20 program (an almost meaningless offer, since deployment had been virtually completed) and proposed a ceiling of 300 nuclear launchers on both sides in Europe. Since there are 250 French and British missiles already deployed, this would effectively lock out any Pershing/cruise deployment by the United States.

Four INF sessions between the two countries have taken place, and a fifth is scheduled to begin in Geneva on January 27.

—R.B.



February. A number of delegates expressed support for working for across-the-board cuts in funding for nuclear weapons systems. But the majority preferred tying U.S. nuclear arms spending to what was referred to as "Soviet restraint" so that there would be a hold on appropriations for each nuclear weapon system as long as the Soviet Union holds up on an equivalent weapon. "This would allow money to be spent on the systems only if the Soviet Union demonstrates an unwillingness to adhere to the freeze," explains Texas delegate Tony Switzer. "Fencing in the money, rather than cutting it off completely, will be easier to sell to conservative members of Congress."

A general point of agreement within the national committee, says Kehler, is "that we must go beyond non-binding resolutions and develop legislative measures that have some teeth." Both approaches, he adds, are consistent with the bilateral aspect of the freeze. "In order to have a freeze with rough parity," he says, "you have to prevent unilateral escalation."

Looking ahead even further, the national committee discussed its role for 1984. "We've got to change the thinking of the federal government," Nebraska delegate Anne Radford points out, "or change the people who are doing the thinking." One strategy being considered

is to have local freeze activists become delegates to the nominating conventions.

On the local level, the freeze campaign, says Kehler, will concentrate on areas where there is not much organized support. The campaign will try to transform its local lobby network into a stronger, more sophisticated national network. There will be continued emphasis on outreach and education, particularly on the inadequacies of both the Soviet and U.S. performance at the arms negotiation table and the issue of deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe. "We need to burst the myth," says Kehler, "that the President has made any useful initiatives in arms control. They have all been nothing but a smokescreen for a new weapons build-up."

There are also plans for additional state referenda, says Kehler, specifically in New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. "As to whether that will be a major part of our strategy," he notes, "that decision will be made at the national convention."

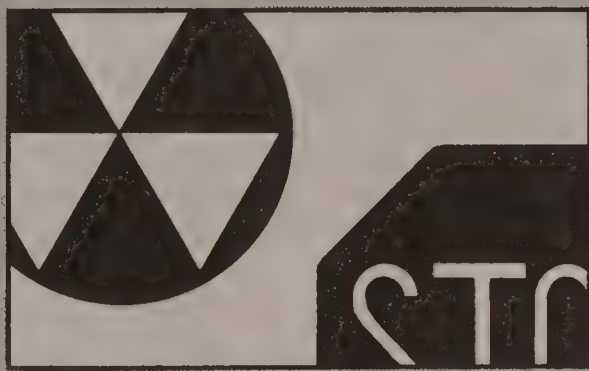
But the campaigners' immediate concern is the freeze resolution in the House. Specific action beyond its passage is bound to be more controversial and possibly divisive. But the delegates at the San Francisco meeting seemed optimistic about maintaining the momentum of the campaign. "There is no guarantee that the appropriations tack will work," says Switzer. "But we have to take a bolder stand to actually stop the arms race." Claire Greenfelder of the Northern California Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign expects no loss of support. "People know what they are asking for," she observes, "and understand that House passage of the resolution will not get them what they want. They are determined to continue working."

Delegates characterized the meeting as warm and unified, with occasional spirited discussions. One delegate reported that the "hottest debate of the weekend" centered on the question of whether the language in the 1983 freeze resolution should remain the same as the one that produced a near-victory last year. Some felt that the resolution should reflect the current, "tougher" sentiment of freeze supporters and not just what people think will gain House support. "Congress should reflect what we feel," one delegate put it, "not vice versa." Some delegates expressed support for attempting the immediate halt of specific U.S. missile systems, while others felt this diverged from a true "bilateral" path.

The tough decisions were postponed until the national convention next month, but the big push in Congress on the freeze resolution will begin soon. And, as

## CIVIL DEFENSE

# FEMA Plans At Risk



The Boston Board of Health and Hospitals has proposed placing a warning sign in all city office buildings. Printed over the image of a red STOP sign, the message would read: "Nuclear war. No shelter. No escape. Warning. Nuclear war has no cure. It can only be prevented." Wherever a black and yellow Civil Defense emblem is hung, this STOP sign would hang nearby.

Many American citizens and officials are not buying President Reagan's grandiose civil defense plan. Last spring the Administration announced its intention to request \$4.2 billion for a seven-year civil defense program centered on a Crisis Relocation Plan (CRP) that distinguishes soon-to-be-bombed "at-risk" cities and nearby, safer "host" communities. Fifty-eight communities have since passed referenda rejecting Reagan's plan. Others held public education hearings, and one civil defense planner in Greensboro, North Carolina, had fallout shelter signs in her town taken down (see *Nuclear Times*, Nov/Dec 1982). And out of a first-year request for \$252 million for civil defense programs in 1983 (up from \$133 million for 1982), the Federal Emergency Management Agency has received from Congress only \$147.4 million. This reduced appropriation did "not change the seven-year ob-

jective," according to Russell Clanahan, a FEMA public information officer. "However, there might have to be some adjustments in future requests."

Carla Johnston, founder of Civil Defense Awareness, a new clearinghouse based in Boston, reports that she has had "a number of inquiries from people saying they are thinking of putting something to their state legislature." A joint resolution calling for an end to CRP planning and a reallocation of those funds was defeated in the California state legislature last June; Johnston says it will probably be introduced again. Johnston says "people may pick up on" the recent vote in Cleveland, which approved an amendment to the city charter prohibiting spending city funds on civil defense.

FEMA, meanwhile, is developing an "Emergency Management Instruction" curriculum for grades kindergarten through twelve. A pilot program, covering "natural disasters, technological disasters, and nuclear disasters of various types," was field-tested in 22 states during the 1981-82 school year, according to FEMA's Clanahan, and is now being evaluated and revised by Far West Laboratories in San Francisco. FEMA plans to begin the program in the schools during the 1983-84 school year. The Oakland, California, school board rejected both the pilot, and any future use of a curriculum that included preparations for nuclear war. "It tells everyone that nuclear war is a survivable disaster," says Rick Collett, a member of Educators for Social Responsibility who lobbied the Oakland board, "just like earthquakes, floods, and volcanoes."

ESR has prepared an organizing booklet aimed at preventing the FEMA curriculum from reaching the schools. "As soon as something gets into the schools it's hard to get it out," says Collett.

—R.B.



one delegate put it, "Once the resolution is passed in the House, the easy part is over."

—Deborah Branscum

*Deborah Branscum, formerly chief of research at Mother Jones, is a freelance writer in San Francisco.*

## ECONOMY

# Trading Weapons For Jobs

What comes after the freeze? For many freeze activists in Denver, Philadelphia, and other areas where freeze referenda have passed, the answer is Jobs with Peace. Simply put, the Jobs with Peace campaign calls for a transfer of funds from nuclear weapons, military interventions abroad, and wasteful military purposes to housing, transportation, education, human services, and other civilian industries.

"There is a large sentiment among freeze activists that it is necessary to hook up with economic issues," says Seth Adler, the San Francisco-based national coordinator of the Jobs with Peace campaign. "That feeling reflects the need for the freeze to get support from working people, labor, and poor people. The expression of this for a lot of people is Jobs with Peace."

Adler estimates that there are now between 40 and 50 local Jobs with Peace campaigns. The national campaign, which includes as sponsors the American Friends Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and Mobilization for Survival, has called for a national Jobs with Peace week (April 10-16), which will serve both educational and organizing purposes. "From there we can go on to new local referenda," Adler says.

Jobs with Peace referenda calling on Congress to divert money from the military to social needs and civilian industries have already been passed in over 60 cities, including Oakland, Detroit, San Francisco, and Boston. In November, 50 cities approved referenda, including Milwaukee, where Jobs with Peace and the freeze were combined into a single referendum. While most of the referenda are symbolic in nature, in Baltimore and Pittsburgh voters passed binding referenda—the first of their kind—that require the mayor or department of finance to publish in local newspapers the amount of taxes paid by residents that is used for military purposes. The Baltimore measure also requires the city gov-

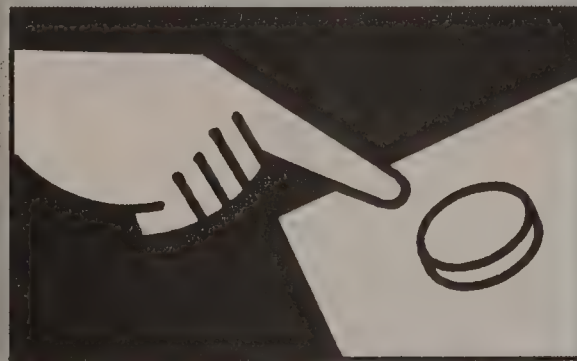
ernment to publish a Jobs with Peace statement in the papers. "Our overall direction is toward binding referenda," says Adler. "They enlist local governments to influence priorities and to educate the public on the military budget and human needs." Binding referenda, he adds, can also require a local government to research the effects of military spending and publicize its findings.

"What is most encouraging about the Jobs with Peace campaign," says David McFadden, co-founder of the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project in Mountain View, California, "is that people are increasingly coming to understand the connection between economic and military issues." McFadden's organization, located south of San Francisco in the heart of "Silicon Valley," which boasts the

highest rate of military contracting per capita in the country, is one of a small number of groups that research the impact of military spending on the economy and develop plans for converting military-based industry to more peaceful and productive purposes. (Surprisingly, nearby San Jose, considered part of Silicon Valley, passed a Jobs with Peace referendum in November, with 62 percent in favor of the measure.) Such a transition, McFadden notes, would boost the economy and lead to an increase in jobs. For every \$1 billion the United States spends on the military, 75,000 jobs are created in military industries, according to a U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics study. But if the United States spends the same amount on civilian industries, the study shows, nearly twice as many

## NO FIRST USE

# Applying Pressure For A Pledge



A year from now, the issue of no-first-use is going to be the issue," says Jerome Grossman, president of the Council for a Livable World Education Fund. If his prediction proves true, it will be largely due to Grossman's group and others like it which have been championing the cause of a no-first-use policy. "Our aim," Grossman says, "is to bring the discussion of no-first-use of nuclear weapons to the entire country, and present it as a serious option in nuclear policy. We support the freeze, but we feel that it's necessary to look for additional ways out of the nuclear dilemma."

Soviet leaders have repeatedly stated that they would never instigate a nuclear attack. The Reagan Administration has refused to make such a pledge, citing the need to maintain a "flexible response" to "conventional aggression" in Europe. A no-first-use pact would have more than symbolic value. It could lead, for example, to the reduction or removal of missiles on both sides in Europe—and a major buildup of conventional forces there.

For the past year, the Council for a Livable World has spread the word about no-first-use, hoping that public pressure will persuade the Administration to give the issue serious thought. In October 1982 the Council sponsored a conference in New York City attended by 700 scien-

tists, strategists, and policy experts. "By having these conferences, we're not only educating the experts and the public—we're bringing the story to the media," Grossman says, referring to the wide coverage that the conference received. The Council is planning a similar policy discussion in Chicago, in April, to be followed by conferences on the West Coast and in the Southeast. This month the Council is also sponsoring a luncheon seminar on no-first-use in Washington, D.C., for all members of Congress, with guest lecturer McGeorge Bundy, special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson for national security affairs.

The Union of Concerned Scientists has also been active on this front. The UCS, according to its chairman, Henry Kendall, "endorses a package that consists of the freeze, negotiations for deep cuts in the nuclear arsenal, known as the Kennan Proposal, and a no-first-use policy. We've gotten over 1000 scientists to endorse this package." The UCS is sponsoring a study, to be released in the spring, that will examine whether or not the strengthening of conventional forces will be necessary if a no-first-use policy is adopted.

The UCS and the Council for a Livable World are both involved in providing literature and speakers to organizations, and the UCS is widely distributing its film *No First Use*. "We will continue to do this in order to develop an informed base of support in the U.S.," Kendall says. "It is our job to raise the public's consciousness on this issue."

But can they influence the administration? "I'm not certain that we ever will," Kendall says. "We just might have to wait for another administration."

—Renata Rizzo



jobs are created.

The concept of economic conversion—retooling military-based industries and factories for other purposes—is spreading quickly, McFadden says. There are now several projects, including the St. Louis Economic Conversion Project and the Washington State Conversion Project, which focus on the negative impact of local defense contracting. The Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race in Pasadena, California, recently initiated an economic conversion working group.

Economic conversion is also attracting support on Capitol Hill. Legislators (including Representative Ed Markey and Senator Edward Kennedy), SANE, and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers may “develop conversion legislation within the context of the freeze,” says McFadden, who heads the economic issue task force

of the national freeze campaign. Representative Ted Weiss plans to introduce an economic conversion bill that requires that “alternative use” committees be set up at every defense facility employing more than 99 people. The measure, however, does not stand a very good chance of getting out of the five committees to which it will be assigned, admits Mark Pinsky, an aide to Weiss.

But McFadden says that he is optimistic about the Jobs with Peace campaign and the future of economic conversion. “There’s been a great interest on the part of labor unions, technicians, engineers, small businessmen, and economists,” he says. Domestic problems caused by the current military build-up, he says, will play an increasing role in coalition-building within the antinuclear weapons movement. “It’s more and more an issue that’s on peoples’ minds—with unem-

ployment as high as it is and military spending as high as it is,” McFadden explains. “Until we can provide conversion planning, worker security, and address the economics, we’re not going to make any headway.” —D.C.

## TEST BAN

# Underground Protest Grows

**T**he public outcry against atomic testing that preceded the signing of the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty subsided quickly when fallout clouds were no longer visible after every test. Many Americans are unaware that the United States continues to set off atomic explosions underground. Since 1963 the government has conducted over 380 atomic tests in Nevada. Last year more nuclear weapons were detonated in this country (18 as of December 11) than in any year since 1970. By contrast, the Soviets set off only four blasts, less than half their 1981 total.

When officials from the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain signed the Limited Test Ban, which outlawed atomic tests in the earth’s atmosphere—only China continues to conduct atmospheric tests—they indicated that this was just a first step toward stopping all testing, and every U.S. president since then has endorsed a total test ban. Major provisions of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB) were agreed upon before trilateral talks were adjourned in November, 1980.

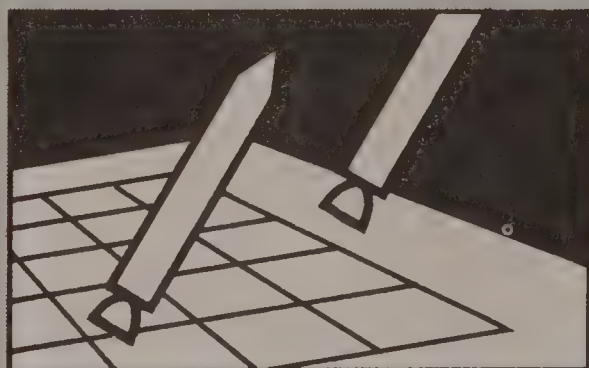
Last July, however, the Reagan Administration announced that it was not going to resume negotiations as scheduled, citing the need to tighten verification methods with the Soviets. Administration officials stated that, for now, they would instead attempt to improve monitoring procedures on two limited test ban treaties.

“The Reagan Administration says it is seeking Soviet agreement to improve procedures on verification of partial bans already in effect,” Preston Jay Truman, a member of Downwinders, a pro-CTB group based in Utah and Nevada, has noted. “However, no mention has been made by the Administration on why these improvements need to be made before a CTB can be discussed, since the CTB, which can be easily verified, would automatically make the partial bans unnecessary.”

It appears that the Administration is using verification as a smokescreen. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Rela-

## MX

# “Dying, But Not Dead Yet”



**F**orces backing the MX may be foundering in Washington, but activists out West say the battle is far from over. “The MX will rear its ugly head again,” says Steven Sidorak, of Western Solidarity, a group formed by organizers in eight states once targeted for possible MX deployment.

If the Administration changes its “Dense Pack” basing plan, no state is safe. “I think the MX is dying,” says April Moore, coordinator in Washington of the National Campaign to Stop the MX, “but it’s not dead yet. It will keep limping along.”

“To quote Richard Cheney [Wyoming’s pro-MX Congressman], ‘this is only round one,’ ” says Sister Frances Russell of the Tri-State MX Coalition in Cheyenne.

Since it represents citizens throughout the region, Western Solidarity may become the cornerstone of the continuing opposition. When the Cheyenne, Wyoming, area, for example, was chosen as the “Dense Pack” site, Western Solidarity offered financial assistance to anti-MX groups in that area, such as the Tri-

State MX Coalition. It also encouraged its members to put “political pressure on their congressmen to vote against the MX,” according to John McNamer of Montana, spokesman for the group. “Just because Montana wasn’t selected,” he points out, “doesn’t mean that Montanans will stop fighting the MX, and that holds true for all the other states.” Another regional group, the MX Information Center in Salt Lake City, Utah, is putting out an “MX Action Alert” to tell the public who to contact in Congress.

And on January 23, antinuclear activists will protest the launching of the first MX test flight from Vandenberg Air Force base near Lompoc, California, to a U.S. military installation on the Kwajalein atoll in the South Pacific. When the missile is launched, members of the Livermore Action Group, an antinuclear coalition based in the San Francisco Bay area, will begin occupying the Vandenberg base in an act of civil disobedience.

While the congressional debate over the MX continues back East, the grassroots efforts to stop the MX will continue out West. “The politicians are beginning to understand that the people of the West won’t accept the MX,” says Sidorak, who is also the executive director of the Colorado Council of Churches. “They have to understand three things: You can’t take our land; you can’t take our water; you can’t destroy our Western way of life. The MX does all three. We have one goal—to totally defeat the MX.” —R.R.



tions Committee last May, Eugene Rostow, head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, admitted that he had encountered "battalions" of government officials who believe that "given the uncertainties of the nuclear situation and the need for new weapons and modernization, we are going to need testing, and perhaps even testing above the 150 kiloton limit."

In December the U.N. General Assembly adopted by a wide margin three resolutions calling for a CTB. One resolution put forward by the Soviet Union was passed by a 114-4 vote. The United States opposed all three resolutions.

Ending all nuclear tests, a group of 17 local and national antinuclear organizations recently declared in a joint statement, "has long been regarded internationally as the single most important, feasible, and attainable way to stop further technological advances in the arms race." With the CTB there might not be a third generation of weapons. And when a nation's stockpile is not periodically tested, the willingness to use nuclear weapons may diminish.

Another reason why many antinuclear groups are backing the CTB is the effect of atomic tests on health and the environment. "Nuclear war is not something that could happen—it has been happening to downwinders of the Nevada test site for almost 32 years," says Janet Gordon, director of Citizens Calls, in Cedar City, Utah. "People have been living and dying with it, and the government still refuses to admit that it is dangerous."

Underground blasts sometimes crack the surface of the test-site and release nuclear debris into the atmosphere. The fallout cloud produced by one such leak in the "Schooner" test in 1968 crossed the Canadian border. (Nuclear tests are postponed if there are winds that would carry radiation from an accidental leak toward the state's most populated city, Las Vegas.) The United States has admitted to at least 40 accidental "ventings" at the Nevada test-site since 1963.

The biggest leak was at the "Bane Berry" site in Nevada on December 18, 1971. Radioactive gas and debris escaped through a fissure and shot up 10,000 feet. The leak continued for 24 hours after the test was completed. Four inhabitants of the workers' camp, located three and a half miles away from the test-site, later died of leukemia. The widows of two of these men have sued the government. On June 8, 1982, a federal district judge in Las Vegas found the government negligent because it did not quickly evacuate workers from the village, or decontaminate them promptly. (The court has yet to decide whether the dosages of radiation received were the cause of the leukemia, and whether to award damages.)

"Now it is time to go beyond information sharing and start to activate people," says Ellie Walters of the Environmental Policy Center, in Washington, D.C., which is planning CTB strategy. With Citizens Call, the Fellowship of Reconciliation has started a postcard campaign, encouraging people to write the White House after every test. Greenpeace has opened a Las Vegas Field Office to monitor the Nevada Test Site. At its six regional offices, Greenpeace will hang banners after every test that is detonated anywhere in the world and announce the new total since 1945.

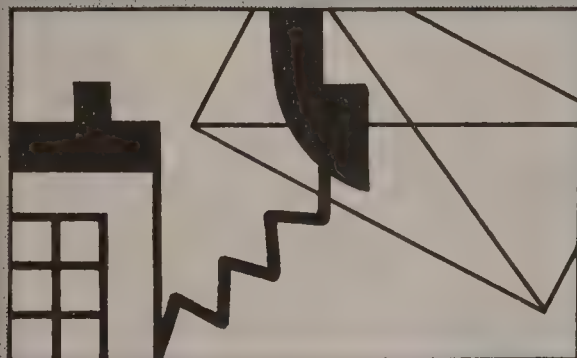
Last summer Edward Kennedy in the Senate, and Berkley Bedell in the House,

introduced a resolution calling on the President to support the partial bans and resume negotiations on the CTB. Committees have not yet taken action on it. Eric Ferscht, Greenpeace lobbyist in Washington, believes that ratifying the two partial bans may undermine the CTB. Introducing legislation to cut off funds for all testing, he believes, may be the next step. Dave McKillop, of the task force for a CTB set up by the Committee for National Security, hopes to rally support for the treaty following a successful vote on the freeze in Congress this year. "We need political will," McKillop says, "to coincide with popular demand."

—Alex Sichel

## MAKING CONTACT

# Addressing the Issue in 1983



- **Citizens Call** 126 So. 1400 W., Cedar City, Utah 84720 (801) 586-6674
- **Civil Defense Awareness** P.O. Box 963, Boston, Massachusetts 02103
- **Clergy and Laity Concerned** 198 Broadway, New York, New York 10038 (212) 964-6730
- **The Committee for National Security** 2000 P Street N.W., Suite 515, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 833-3140
- **Council for a Livable World** 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02108 (617) 742-9395
- **Downwinders** 1321 E. 400 So., Salt Lake City, Utah 84102 (801) 583-5252
- **Educators for Social Responsibility** 639 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 (617) 492-1764
- **Environmental Policy Center** 1321 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 547-5330
- **Fellowship of Reconciliation** Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960 (914) 358-4601
- **Greenpeace USA** 2007 R Street, Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 462-1177
- **Ground Zero** 806 15th Street, N.W., Suite 421, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 638-7402
- **Jobs with Peace** 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California 94103 (415) 558-8615
- **Livermore Action Group** 3126 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California 94705 (415) 644-3031
- **Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project** 222C

View Street, Mountain View, California 94041 (415) 968-8798

- **Mobilization for Survival** 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, New York 10003 (212) 533-0008
- **National Campaign to Stop the MX** 711 G Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 546-2660
- **Nuclear Control Institute** 1000 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 406, Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 822-8444
- **Nuclear Free America** 2521 Guilford Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21218 (301) 633-8478
- **Nuclear Free Zone Registry** P.O. Box 172, Riverside, California 92502 (714) 674-6576
- **SANE** 711 G Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 546-7100
- **St. Louis Conversion Project** 438 North Skinker, St. Louis, Missouri 63160 (314) 721-3421
- **Stop the Cruise and Pershing II Clearinghouse** 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19143 (215) 727-1007
- **Tri-State MX Coalition** 1603 Capitol, Room 425, Cheyenne, Wyoming 82001 (307) 635-7308
- **Union of Concerned Scientists** 1384 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02238 (617) 547-5552
- **War Resisters League** 339 Lafayette Street, New York, New York 10012 (212) 228-0450
- **Washington State Conversion Project** 6532 Phinney Avenue North, Seattle, Washington 98103 (206) 784-8436
- **Western Solidarity** 5209 Montview Blvd., Denver, Colorado 80207 (303) 322-1004
- **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom** 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107 (215) 563-7110



SOUTH CAROLINA

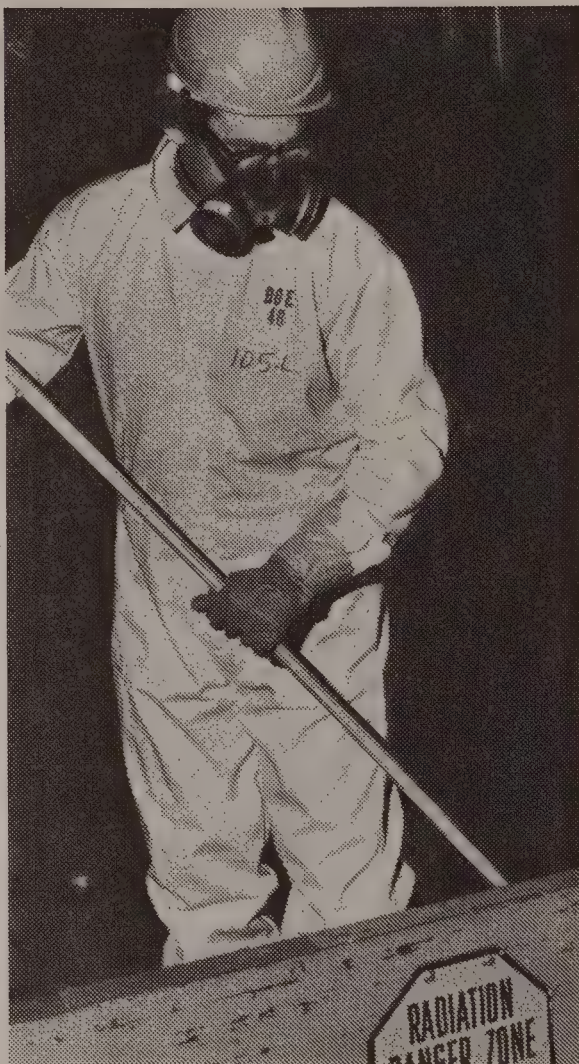
# "Bomb Plant" Catches Flak

**P**resident Reagan's plan to increase the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile is meeting with some difficulties in South Carolina. Nicknamed the "nuclear state," South Carolina is host to one of the largest nuclear installations in the country, the Savannah River Plant, which produces all the weapons-grade plutonium for the nation's nuclear arms industry. Since its creation in 1950, the Savannah River Plant, known locally as the "Bomb Plant," has caught little flak in its home state. But recently the plant, which must increase its output to meet Reagan's call for more arms, has become the target of a lawsuit, proposed state legislation, and rising public opposition.

"In the past year, there's been a great deal of attention focused on nuclear weapons," says Brett Bursey of the Natural Guard, an anti-nuclear direct action coalition in South Carolina, "and the Savannah River Plant has gotten its share. It's made our job a lot easier." But Bursey concedes that "the psychology of cold war phobia has deeper roots here than probably anywhere else in the country."

Much of the current controversy surrounds the decision to restart the L-Reactor at the Department of Energy-owned plant, located in rural Aiken on a 312 square-mile chunk of the state. By restarting the L-Reactor the DOE could increase its output of weapons-grade plutonium and tritium by 33 percent. The \$214 million start-up, scheduled for October 1983, says the DOE, will, in the first year of operation, flush 10 curies of radioactive cesium into the Savannah River, which runs between South Carolina and Georgia, and 46 curies over several decades. But DOE officials maintain that because the L-Reactor operation will not affect "the quality of the human environment," no environmental impact statement is needed.

The Natural Resource Defense Council in Washington, D.C., does not agree. Representing a coalition of local citizens and environmental groups, the NRDC in November filed suit to force the DOE to comply with the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 by preparing an environmental impact statement. In the suit the NRDC charges that the operation of



**A worker inside the bomb plant where the financial stakes are high**

the L-Reactor will lead to "the accidental and intentional release of radiation, the production of radioactive wastes, and the generation of large volumes of heated water." The plant, says the NRDC, will "destroy wetlands and wildlife habitat, and affect water quality and fisheries in the Savannah River." The suit also notes that the permissible exposure to cesium is less than 3 millionths of a curie per person and that the start-up of the L-Reactor could cause an increase in cancer among local residents.

The DOE has until January 8 to respond to the NRDC suit. Several state legislators, according to state Senator Alex Sanders, plan to introduce legislation this month calling on Governor Richard Riley and state Attorney General Travis Medlock to take whatever steps are necessary to prevent the L-Reactor from starting without an environmental impact statement. And Elizabeth Crum,

an attorney hired by the Governor's office to examine whether the state should join in the NRDC suit, has recommended that the state sign on. In a report made public on December 1, she said that by asking for an environmental impact statement, the "state will have taken one of the strongest legal options available to it to protect its citizens." Crum's report also notes "there is a likelihood the NRDC will succeed."

The L-Reactor controversy has followed on the heels of a controversy about the health effects of the plant and the discovery of radioactive releases and accidents reported in declassified documents from the Bomb Plant. The Environmental Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., revealed last summer that the plant, which is operated by DuPont, has experienced repeated problems with leaks of buried radioactive wastes and has reported at least 75 accidental releases of radioactivity into the atmosphere.

Jasper County is southeast of the plant and draws its drinking water from the Savannah River. In August, reporters from the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* identified an increase in infant deaths in Jasper County from 22.9 per 1000 in 1950 to 29.2 in 1980, while the state average dropped from 38.9 to 15.6. Fetal deaths in Jasper increased 250 percent in this period. Heart disease in Screven County, Georgia, also southeast of the plant, they reported, has risen nearly five times the statewide increase. The cancer rate in Burke County, Georgia, next to Screven, increased five-fold between 1950 and 1980, while the statewide rate rose two-fold. Reporters Mark Bradley and Robert Lamb also discovered 25 individuals suffering from a rare blood disease, polycythemia vera, which can develop into leukemia or heart disease. (Normally only one in every 250,000 Americans is affected by the disease.)

James Gaver, director of external affairs at the plant, denies charges that plant operations have a negative health impact. "Clearly some data have been presented," he says, "which has been taken to reinforce a particular point of view. You have to make sure you have an accurate picture." Gaver maintains that



the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* story "did not address the counties that immediately surround the plant, but focused on counties that are quite distant." He also says that several epidemiological studies show that the operation of the plant is not affecting the health and safety of local residents. The most extensive examination, he notes, is an on-going study contracted by the DOE.

But some local residents say that they will not trust its findings. As Steve McMillan, a local farmer, put it, "I'm tired of them poisoning my kids and myself, and my land and my water . . . I think there ought to be a study, but I wouldn't have much confidence in anyone the Bomb Plant hired to do it." Governor Riley "fully supports" an independent study of the health effects of the plant's operations, according to executive assistant David Reid. But, as of now, there has been no move to allocate state funds for such a study.

The recent health controversy has helped activists organizing against the Bomb Plant, says Brett Bursey. "The level of discussion has now been raised," he says. "It has drawn attention to the plant." Using the issue of the plant's health effects, he notes, has been one of the principal strategies employed by local activists.

Another activist tactic has been to use the issue of nuclear waste disposal. There are now 27 million gallons of high-level liquid radioactive waste stored in 39 tanks on site, eight of which have developed cracks, according to a 1977 Energy Research and Development Agency report. "In the last five years we've been addressing the Bomb through the question of nuclear waste storage and its impact on the local population," says Bursey. "In talking about nuclear waste we could get to the question of the Bomb. But in the last year we've been able to address the Bomb directly."

Sometime in February activists from all across the Southeast will meet in Columbia, South Carolina, to discuss strategies for opposing the Savannah River Plant. They will consider various legal tactics, civil disobedience actions, and educational activities. "Recently we've had a lot of church involvement, and we anticipate it will increase," says Bursey.

But for most of the people who live near the plant and the 9800 people who work at the plant, it is still a touchy subject. The Bomb Plant has completely changed the economic base of the area. It is South Carolina's largest civilian employer, drawing its workers from six adjacent counties, including two across the Savannah River in Georgia. (The L-Re-

actor would employ 350 more.) They are used to having the Bomb Plant in their backyard.

"I'm certain that the people of South Carolina want peace as much as anyone else—nobody wants a nuclear war," says Bebe Verdery, coordinator of the newly formed Carolina Peace Resource Center in Aiken. "But here the financial stakes are high. It's a difficult struggle protecting the economic well-being of an area with so many jobs dependent on a large military budget, while trying to promote a responsible foreign policy which will reduce the military budget."

Although he says much progress has been made recently, Bursey still admits that it will be hard to turn local residents around. "If there is a more difficult organizing issue," he says, "I don't know what it is. Here, the issue is completely undemocratized by the fact that it is wrapped in the cloak of national security." Bursey says his group and others will continue to educate residents on the tremendous health impacts, and, in that way, try to undermine Reagan's plan at the first step of the nuclear weapons production cycle.

—Sue Bowman

Sue Bowman, a freelance writer in South Carolina, has written for the *Pacific News Service* and *Southern Exposure*.



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# Round-Up

## Protesters To Pitch Camp

■ Picking up on a strategy that has been popular throughout Europe, anti-nuclear activists in California and New York are now planning to establish the first peace camps in the United States.

The Community Against Nuclear Extinction in Palo Alto, California, plans to start a peace camp in June somewhere in "Silicon Valley," the capital of the military electronics industry, south of San Francisco. "We're mainly protesting deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles, but we're also doing this to protest the contribution of local technology to the advancement of the arms race," says Mary Klein of CANE. "Ideally we will stay until the missiles are stopped for once and for all."

On the East Coast, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is working with the Upstate New York Feminist Alliance and other peace groups to organize a camp in Seneca Falls, New York. The location for the proposed feminist peace camp is doubly apt: The first women's rights convention was held in Seneca Falls in 1848, and neutron bombs and Pershing II missiles are stored at the Seneca Army Depot. The camp, which is scheduled to open July 4, is billed as the "sister camp" to the first British peace camp at Greenham Common.

## Forsberg, Ellsberg Link Arms Race To Intervention

■ Chiding a U.S. military policy that has produced a "recipe for a permanent arms race," freeze proposal author Randall Forsberg warned an audience of New England peace activists on December 4 that the sole purpose of the present "escalatory policy" was in backing U.S. intervention or seeking to deter Soviet intervention.

Forsberg was the opening speaker at a two-day conference in Boston entitled "Deadly Connection: Nuclear War and U.S. Intervention," which brought together representatives from about 100 freeze, disarmament, and non-intervention organizations. Initiated by the American Friends Service Committee, the conference sought, according to Joe Gerson of AFSC, "to bring together two wings of the peace movement—freeze/disarmament groups and non-interven-

tionist activists—to understand our inter-relationship and work out a common strategy."

Listing the numerous instances where nuclear weapons have been deployed or their use threatened—from Guatemala in 1954 to recent crises in the Middle East—both Forsberg and Daniel Ellsberg indicated that the greatest danger of nuclear war emanates from an escalation of a conventional war. "There can be no greater contribution to the cause of peace and disarmament," said Noam Chomsky, "than reducing or eliminating sources of tension and conflict that will lead to nuclear war." Other speakers emphasized that the Third World—and not Europe—was the likely site of such a conflict. George Sommaripa of the Council for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze presented the most specific proposal with a call for a bilateral agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to place no uniformed troops in foreign nations. But the impact of the meeting, says Gerson, might not be seen for months until it "filters down to the grassroots level."

—John P. Demeter

## 36 Arrested At Honeywell

■ Arm in arm and singing, some holding signs reading "The Bomb Factory Is Closed," 36 people were arrested while blocking entrances at Honeywell headquarters in Minneapolis, on November 5. The arrests came after a demonstration the previous day that attracted over 4000 people, including Daniel Berrigan and Carl Kabat of the Plowshares 8, actor Martin Sheen, and documentary filmmaker Emile de Antonio.

The direct action at Honeywell, a high technology corporation with \$838 million in defense contracts in fiscal year 1981, pursued demands for an end to the development and production of nuclear weapons components, cluster bombs, and conventional weapons. The Honeywell Project, which sponsored the protest, also demanded that Honeywell convert its military operations to peaceful purposes without the loss of jobs. Judge Roberta Levy had the 36 released without bail on the condition that they "keep the peace."

Marv Davidov, the founder of the Honeywell Project, says that the "business as usual" attitude at Honeywell, which manufactures components for Minuteman, Trident, and MX missiles, "leads to murder and potential murder. For at least a little while the Honeywell Project disrupted that daily routine that leads to death and misery." —Mordecai Specktor

## Movement Picks Up Support From Funders

■ A recent survey of 95 leading anti-nuclear groups revealed that they received over \$6 million in donations from private foundations in 1982. "There's a growing need for a hell of a lot more than that if the movement is to grow and have more impact," says Robert Steiner, who coordinated the survey for the Forum Institute in Washington, D.C.

Apparently those funds will be forthcoming. A conference on Funding the Prevention of Nuclear War brought together on December 7 and 8 in New York City about 90 funders and representatives of major foundations in 18 states. The last such meeting in September attracted less than half that number. Steiner, who helped coordinate the conference, feels the diversity of the new participants is significant. "People who fund the arts, education, health and other fields," he says, "are all getting proposals related to this issue." Sidney Shapiro, co-chairman of the conference, says that the goal of funders already involved in the movement is to "increase the number of funders and the amount of money and the effectiveness with which we make that money available to the people who make use of it."

## FEMA Defunds Greensboro

■ Marilyn Braun, the chief emergency planner in Greensboro, North Carolina, who refused to draw up nuclear war plans, (see "Local Planner Takes on FEMA," NUCLEAR TIMES, Nov./Dec. 1982.), has been informed by Jesse Pugh, the director of the state's Division of Emergency Management, that the state will not allocate federal funds to her office unless she submits an updated plan. Braun, who maintains that no civil defense plan can protect people from a nuclear war, has challenged a Federal Emergency Management Agency regulation that requires that each local emergency planning office submit a war plan before it can receive federal funding.

"We received a letter from Pugh that said we were violating FEMA rules, and if we didn't update our war plan he would redistribute our money to other counties," says Braun. For Braun, this could mean a loss of \$30,000, one-third of her annual budget. "The central issue," she adds, "is what do the other 74 counties in the state have that gets them money. If what they have is a phony plan, then this is an intolerable situation." □



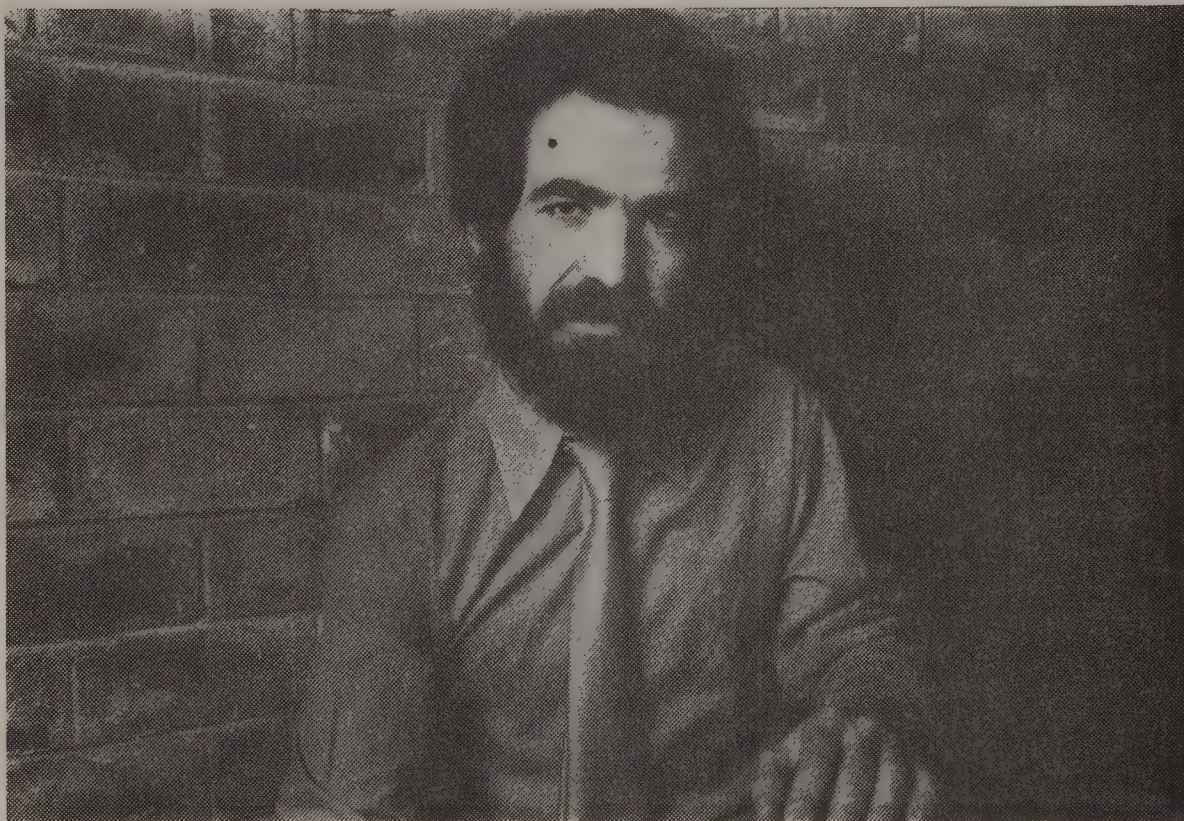
MIKHAIL OSTROVSKY

# Urging Trust In A Cold Climate

On June 4, 1982 a small group of Soviet citizens in Moscow announced the formation of an independent citizens campaign for nuclear disarmament, the Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. This group called for the development of a "four-sided dialogue" among the governments and people of the two superpowers. In its initial message, the Group to Establish Trust maintained that it was not a dissident organization, that its aims coincided with the declared goals of the official Soviet peace committees. Nevertheless, members of the group were harassed by Soviet officials, and last summer, Sergei Batovrin, 25, the son of a Soviet diplomat, was arrested and incarcerated for a month in a psychiatric hospital. Another member, Oleg Radzinsky, was arrested in October, a few days after the group called for ten minutes of silence to be held on January 1 for "prayer and universal reflections on peace, disarmament and removal of mistrust among nations." Since June new groups affiliated with the Moscow organization have started in Leningrad, Odessa, and Novosibirsk, and the number of Soviet citizens who have signed the group's original appeal has grown to nearly 1000. On November 5 the Group to Establish Trust received a written warning from the KGB saying that its members will be prosecuted if they continue their activities. Three weeks later, Tass, the Soviet press agency, denounced the group, claiming its creation was an "act of provocation of Western secret services."

Mikhail Ostrovsky, 26, is one of the founding members of the Group to Establish Trust. When the organization was created, he was one of several "refusenik" members—persons who have been denied permission to emigrate. In fact, Ostrovsky, a dental technician, met Batovrin, another refusenik, in 1979 at the Office of Visas and Registration in Moscow. Afterward, Ostrovsky often visited Batovrin's apartment in Moscow, where Batovrin assembled friends to discuss current events. The Group to Establish Trust grew out of these conversations.

For reasons not explained to them, Ostrovsky, his wife and his two children were allowed to leave the Soviet Union on



Ostrovsky: Told that he was involved "in dangerous activity that no one needs"

July 4 for the United States. He is the only member of the group who has emigrated. He now lives in Brooklyn, New York, and works as a dental technician in Manhattan.

The following interview was conducted by David Corn, associate editor of NUCLEAR TIMES.

**After the group was announced, what forms of harassment did you and other members of the group encounter?**

First of all, they placed three members of the group under house arrest. Then all the members of the group were summoned for interrogation to local authorities. In these offices, we had what we call "chats." That's the nickname for interrogation. Several times several members were detained on the street and hauled into local police stations. Then we had these so-called "chats" at the police station for hours at a time. Then, as far as I can determine, while I was still in the Soviet Union, an attempt was made on the life of one of the members—Victor Blok. He was riding his bicycle with his son, and a car attempted to run him off the road and run him over. That was some time toward the end of June or the beginning of July, right before I left. And

since that time there was another suspicious car accident. Yuri Medvedkov's car was sabotaged. They unscrewed the wheels. And when he tried to drive to work, the wheels fell off of his car, and he ran it off the road. He almost crashed it.

**When they called you in what did they want to "chat" about?**

They said that in the Soviet Union, an official peace movement already exists and what we are involved in is dangerous activity that no one needs. It's not necessary for us to be involved in it. They used the simple methods of pressure on us. They threatened that they would attack us in the press, that they would use other pressures at our jobs. They went through my personal dossier and tried to dig out something from my past that they could use against me. They intimidated us with all sorts of illegal ways, things that are outside of Soviet law. For example, they wanted to start up a criminal case against me, saying that I had illegally obtained my driver's license. They tried to charge me with this obscure article of the Soviet penal code, Article 200. It roughly means "self-righteousness." What it means is the improper use of one's rights. Nothing came of all this.



## • INTERVIEW •

**When you started did you expect such a hostile reaction from the authorities?**

We had supposed that there would be some kind of hostile reaction on the part of the authorities. But we never anticipated that it would be on such a large scale, so extreme, and last for such a long time. We had hoped that when the Soviet authorities understood that our group was not an anti-Soviet group, and when they took the time to figure out what our group is all about, that they would not harass us.

**One reason that you formed the group, you say, is that the official peace committees only represent the government's point of view. How does your point of view differ from theirs?**

The problem is that the official peace committee really exists on paper only. They really don't do anything. So that means that anything that we did would automatically differ from that group because we were proposing actions to take. We wanted to organize a genuine peace movement, not one that is on paper. There are no formal differences between our goals.

We started our group by announcing that the government was too burdened by its own political interests to solve the problem of disarmament. It's not that we're accusing the politicians of anything necessarily. Maybe it looks that way—but we perceive ourselves as attempting to help them, to encourage them to solve the issues. In our view, we thought that this was the only real way to press for disarmament. In other words, it has to come from the people and not just the government.

**When you talk about the political interests of the government, what exactly are you referring to?**

Well, it's natural that each government attempts to achieve priority, superiority, not so much concerning arms, but just in its own sphere of influence. That isn't true only of the Soviet government. I think that any government strives for this. It's natural for politicians to strive for first place. So I feel that without the public becoming involved in these questions there is no way of resolving them.

**You say the official peace committees don't do anything . . .**

Well, we had made a special effort to search out the publications of the peace committee and also of the World Peace Council, which is a Soviet-backed organization, and all we were able to find was a booklet on the World Peace Council dated 1978 or 1977. We were not able to find anything more than that. One member did tell me that he found two little brochures in the library about the Council that were not very specific. As for demonstrations, I think that everyone

realizes that they are government-controlled and organized by the official peace committee. People are handed placards that have already been printed up. They are forced to participate in these demonstrations. They are not spontaneous. It is like these "Volunteer Saturdays" that we have. Sometimes they have them in the spring to clean up the cities, or when there is some job to be done. It's called voluntary, but everyone is forced to turn out. The demonstrations are like those Saturdays.

**Why are the Soviet officials so afraid of your group?**

Well, I think that any independent movement or group is going automatically to be perceived by the authorities as something against the government, even if it is not. They fear any spontaneous uprising in the population. The authorities fear that any independent movement that springs up might take a line that will be an anti-government line.

**And they refused to listen to your arguments that you are not anti-Soviet government?**

Yes. It seemed that they did refuse to listen, because we sent our proposals to all Soviet governmental organizations and to all the authorities in various governmental agencies, to the press, to the official peace committee. And we received no answer from them whatsoever. We also attempted to register our group officially with the Moscow city council. And we never received any answer from them.

**What is the registration process?**

Any organization, any grouping that calls itself an organization is obliged by Soviet law to register with the local city council. The government must know its activities. This is how it is done.

**And you never received a response?**

No, we did not. Some groups, however, do become registered. For example, people who want to start a voluntary association of lifeguards. Or, for example, a voluntary firemen's association. Those people do get permission. In the final analysis, I can say that virtually all of the public organizations, the volunteer or social work organizations, are under the control of the Soviet government.

We had hoped that we would succeed in forming our organization, because of the threat of war and the state of the economy. If the arms race continues, it's going to utterly exhaust the Soviet economy, which is already virtually depleted. We thought that we could help our government find a way out of the military and economic crisis by pressing for disarmament.

**Did your group ever consider working as an underground movement?**

That would be senseless. That would contradict all our principles. No, because we don't consider ourselves an anti-Soviet organization. You could say that we even act in the interests of the Soviet state. To go into the underground would be tantamount to saying that we have created an anti-Soviet organization.

**How many Soviet citizens know about your group?**

In Moscow, people now say that everyone there knows we exist because of the radio broadcasts that come in from abroad, like Voice of America. It grows in a geometric progression. One person tells another one, and that person tells two people, and so on. You can compare it to the explosion of a bomb. It's like critical mass. You have a little bit of material, and it explodes and spreads out rapidly. It is really like that, because in the Soviet Union without newspapers—in the sense of free newspapers—people learn about things from one another. News travels fast.

**When the Soviet people find out about your group, how do you think they will react?**

Well, the reaction is varied. It depends on the person. Some people thought that this was organized by the KGB, because it seemed too good to be true. One complaint people have against the Soviets is that they don't allow independent movements to arise in their country. Then, all of a sudden, this group came out of the woodwork. Nobody knew our names.

**What type of information related to the arms race is available to the Russian people?**

Well, virtually no information, if you're talking about the average Soviet citizen. People who are informed are those who are interested in the issue already and who make a special effort to dig up information and find some relevant publications. For example, the Soviet press is always writing about all sorts of peace demonstrations in the West, but the readers have ceased to perceive those as actual events. They don't pay attention to them. They don't believe them. They don't realize that they have actually happened.

**People who are indeed interested in the arms race—what publications, what sources can they go to?**

For example, they can listen to Western radio broadcasts. They can also attempt to read between the lines in the Soviet press. They try to make their own conclusions. They try to see what a story in the paper really means and not what it means as propaganda. If you read the Soviet papers, sometimes they even quote whole sections out of *The New York Times* or books. If you abstract the Soviet commentary, then you're left with just the paragraphs out of the Western



press. It's a technique that people learn. It's a purely Soviet technique—reading between the lines. Also, some people have Western colleagues who visit them or give them scientific articles. It's very difficult to get things in like that. But it does trickle in.

**Do people get any information at all about weapons or strategic decisions. Do they know about the deployment of cruise missiles and the SS-20s in Europe?**

They virtually have no information. The Soviet Union is accustomed to looking at this information as a state secret, so it's natural that any exact or detailed information is not in the press. Only the military is privy to it, not the public.

**What is the average Soviet citizen's perception of the arms race? Are they even aware of it?**

Of course, all Soviet people want peace. But for the majority of Soviet people, peace is an abstract issue. In fact, they don't have a real concept of how they can actually bring it about. Of course, after World War II, every Soviet person wanted peace, and they wanted to prevent war. They knew what war was. There is even a proverb: A bad peace is better than a good war. Of course, this is not a real issue to them, in the sense that they don't really fully perceive the danger of nuclear war. They're not conscious of their own involvement, how it is going to affect them. It's premature to talk about any Soviet movement until the people become aware. That's why we placed so much emphasis on the trust idea, the establishment of trust.

**Are the people truly aware that there is an arms race that exists and provides a specific danger?**

It is hard to answer your question. They know that the arms race does exist. They know that there is a threat of nuclear war. But they're not really conscious of it. They don't have a real awareness. Does that make sense?

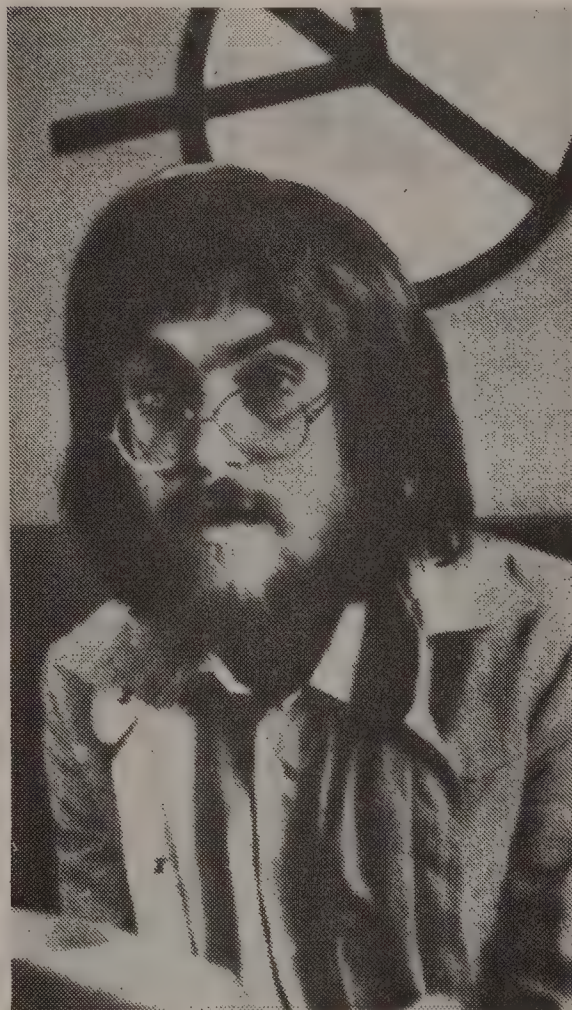
**In a way that can be said about a great many people in the United States.**

That's why it is a mutual concern for us. And I feel that if the American public doesn't support our movement, that would be terrible. We have to work together. Of course, it is more difficult for Soviet citizens, because they lack information and the freedom to express their views. But I think the American public also is not fully aware of the threat of nuclear war. The average citizen still hasn't got that kind of consciousness. That's why both movements have to work to raise the consciousness of their own publics.

The problem in the Soviet Union is that there is a lack of information. The problem in the United States is there is too much information. It is so varied and contradictory. It says all different things.

**You have said, "By suppressing our group the Soviet Union undermines its image as a peacemaker." Do you believe that the government of the Soviet Union is truly interested in peace and ending the arms race?**

Yes, I think the government is truly



**Batovrin: Incarcerated for a month**

interested in peace. But in spite of this sincerity on their part, it doesn't rule out the possibility that they are attempting to achieve superiority, that they are attempting to gain something in their interests.

**But does the average Soviet feel that their government is indeed a peacemaker? In the U.S. that is not necessarily the average perception.**

That is not true of Soviet citizens. They do really perceive their government to be a peacemaker.

**What is their perception of the United States?**

The majority of the Soviet people do perceive the United States to be an aggressor.

**Could you sum up the problems that exist for organizing in Russia. Can they be overcome?**

It is possible to overcome the difficulties. That our group has existed over six months now is a very good sign. The fact that the movement has spread, and more people have heard of it is another positive sign. Probably this is the first time in Soviet history that such an independent group has existed for so long.

As far as difficulties go, it's finding people who are prepared to involve themselves in this kind of activity. Then, there

are mechanical difficulties, like the lack of equipment—copy machines and that kind of thing. The lack of means and materials to work with. Then, the fact that we virtually cannot publicize our appeal through the mass media. Still, I don't think that this is a hopeless cause.

**In your first appeal, you stressed that the members of your group are not dissidents. Do you think that you could say that now?**

This is a very difficult question. Because from what point of view do you approach that question? If you look at it the way the Soviet government does, then maybe we are dissidents. But from our point of view, we don't call ourselves—we don't consider ourselves—dissidents. I think the government is still in a dilemma on how to treat our group.

**What do you think about the American movement?**

It's a difficult question. I think the American movement is generally a good thing. But I'm very unaccustomed to the idea that there are so many different sorts of organizations. Supposedly they're all fighting for the same thing, but it is under different banners. And they have different views and different directions. I think a lot of energy is lost that way, and any possibility of serious action is lost. Communication among different groups is hindered by the fact that each one holds to a different line. But I understand that this is kind of a contradiction in terms. If there wasn't this plurality, then you wouldn't have freedom. And that's what freedom is in America—plurality. But I think the problem is so important that it is worth it to drop or disregard one's own personal interests, to compromise, so that the main cause will win out.

All the issues come down to the same thing—the issue of trust. Those who don't trust, they should become convinced that it is necessary and possible to trust. Those who trust naively or without any reservations, they should understand that the Soviet people today are still not prepared enough to accept an idea such as unilateral disarmament. Let's take a simple example. Let's just take the people who don't trust. Let's give them an opportunity just to get acquainted with Soviet citizens. Then they'll see that the Soviet people aren't so bloodthirsty after all. Then to those who trust without any reservations—they'll see the shortcomings that exist in the Soviet society.

Why are we talking about this now? It's because now there is a real threat. If there weren't such a real threat, then we wouldn't talk about this at all. People have got to attempt to overcome these deep-rooted barriers. It's too serious an issue to approach it from the point of view of one's own personal convictions. □



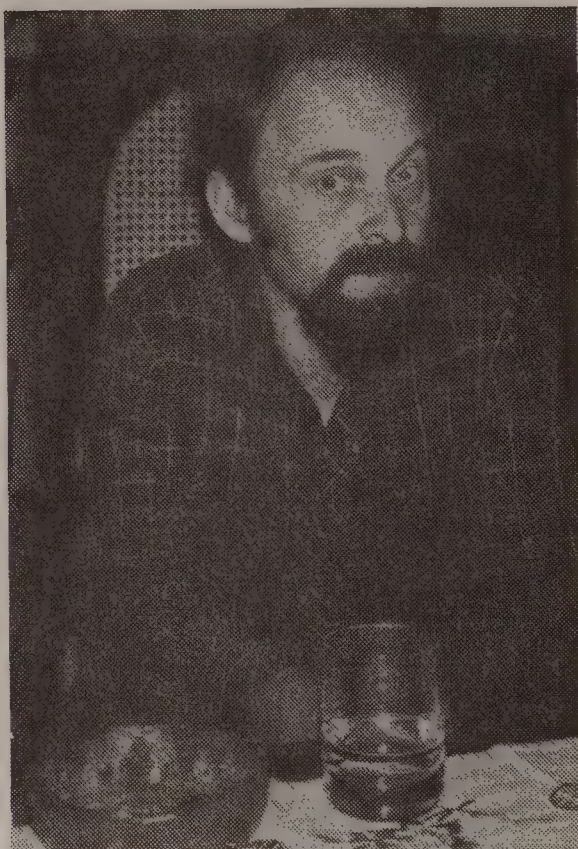
# Soviet Thaw May Cool Protest

**T**he death of Leonid Brezhnev leaves as much uncertainty for the East European peace movement as it does for the Soviet economy and foreign relations. Having emerged from decades of hibernation last summer, the peace movement enjoyed surprising success without persecution from authorities. Yet without the acquiescence, if not the tacit support of Brezhnev, its adherents face a doubtful future.

In an interview last summer the Reverend Reiner Eppelmann, the head of the unofficial East German peace movement, told me that he had been released from prison, after only two days of interrogation, because of Soviet pressure on the East Berlin regime. His claim makes perfect sense because the East Germans have consistently had the most repressive regime in the Soviet bloc and would no doubt be loath to have an independent peace movement arousing opposition to its policies. The Soviet Union, taking a wider view (as described by Eppelmann), let the East Germans flourish to encourage the West German peace movement. Left to its own devices, the East German government, Eppelmann believes, would have incarcerated him for "a couple of years."

As with other early indications of new directions in Soviet domestic and foreign policy, Soviet support of the East German peace movement is bound to be replaced by a more subtle, if not more repressive, approach. Yuri Andropov seems intent on improving the Soviet economy. For this, besides reducing the centralized controls that hamper market forces in the Soviet Union, the Soviets will have to slacken their hold on the internal affairs of the rest of Eastern Europe. Thus, there will be no Soviet protector for East German dissidents if, as Andropov has indicated, he will relinquish some control over Eastern Europe in return for withdrawing subsidized oil and raw materials from his Comecon (the Eastern bloc's Common Market) allies.

To compensate, the peace movement throughout Eastern Europe will have to become even more strongly allied with church groups. Eppelmann describes "the church and publicity" as his two



Rev. Eppelmann will need new "shield"

safety "shields." He believes that his role is to help move the church toward the people and away from the state. There was a wave of Christian activism in Czechoslovakia last summer, when many Bibles were distributed and underground Bible groups included peace initiatives among their concerns. In Hungary, some dissident Catholic priests have combined a peace effort with a general condemnation of their own church leadership for collaborating with the Communist government. The priests have been disciplined by the church itself, leaving the Kadar government with clean hands.

Though Hungarian university students have been slack in campaigning for peace, there is a growing peace movement among teenagers. This reflects the liberalization of the country, where only a couple of years separates those who remain cautious from their younger friends who never experienced any political repression. The Hungarian government will tolerate dissent on domestic issues, but no doubt the Kadar government would crack down on any independent peace movement that criticizes the country's one remaining sacred cow, its rela-

tions with the Soviet Union. Already the growth of the young students' peace movement is threatened by persistent attempts by the official National Peace Council to sponsor their activities and redirect them along party lines.

The Charter 77 dissident movement in Czechoslovakia sent a telegram of support to the Dutch interfaith Peace Council, but as in Poland, peace concerns are just tacked on to more immediate demands for internal liberties and an end to persecution. For these more repressive regimes, Andropov's succession might present the kind of challenge that will force them to crack down all the harder on their own peace activists. Jaruzelski in Poland, Husak in Czechoslovakia and Honecker in East Germany may be compared, in this way at least, to East European leaders appointed by Stalin who were denounced and overthrown once Stalin died. They may be caught short in any real Soviet reforms, which these economic neophytes would be hard pressed to imitate. Their efforts to maintain control in their own countries would force mass repression on their people, and even if they did take dramatic steps to improve their economies, they would probably feel comfortable doing it only with no internal dissent to distract them.

The excuse for cracking down on dissidents in eastern Europe is that the governments themselves promote an official peace policy. This largely consists of anti-American and anti-NATO denunciations with no reference to Soviet missiles in Russia and Eastern Europe. But genuine peace initiatives from Kremlin leaders are by no means infeasible. Andropov gained power with a speed indicating he may have more power than Brezhnev's pro-military coalition that hampered the Soviet economy. Any serious concern over the economy cannot help affect the Soviet military budget, which may produce the results that the East European peace movement could not achieve on its own, however much it was tolerated.

—Frank Lipsius

*Frank Lipsius, feature writer for the Financial Times of London, is an Alicia Patterson Foundation fellow studying the neutralization of Europe.*



## Comiso Fasters Win Prime Time

**W**hen news spread through Comiso, Sicily, that President Sandro Pertini and the state television network, RIA, had conceded to the demands of nine hunger-strikers there, townspeople began celebrating with street dances and the ringing of church bells. On November 27, the 13th day of the strike, the fasters, still in good health after their water-only regimen, were promised an hour of national prime time television and meetings with Pertini and the leaders of Italy's political parties to explain their opposition to plans to deploy 112 NATO cruise missiles in Comiso by the end of this year.

The fasters had spent ten hours each day receiving visitors in a room donated by a local shopkeeper, reports Charles Gray, an American who fasted as a representative of Clergy and Laity Concerned. Other participants included Giacomo Cagnes, a former mayor of Comiso for over 20 years and president of the United Committee for Disarmament and Peace, the most prominent anti-cruise group in Italy, and Ben Thompson from England, author of a pamphlet on Comiso distributed by European Nuclear Disarmament. Representatives from peace groups in Italy, Canada, France, and the Netherlands were also among the fasters.

Disarmament groups in Europe and the United States are concentrating their efforts on Comiso and Greenham Common in England, where 96 cruise missiles are also scheduled for deployment this year. On November 27, a group of pacifists began a march from Milan to Comiso. An "International March for Demilitarization" was due to commence on Christmas Eve with a fast outside the large NATO base in Catania and arrive in Comiso to participate in protest actions. An international peace camp near Comiso, set up last summer, will continue to serve as a base for opposition to the deployment.

Paolo Naso, general secretary of the Italian Protestant Federation of Youth, says that the usual reason given for deploying missiles in Sicily—to counter-balance Soviet missiles aimed at Europe—masks their real functions as symbols of cooperation within NATO and a means of controlling Mediterranean countries that are rich in oil and other raw materials. (Unlike missiles in England and Central Europe, missiles on Sic-

ily could reach all of North Africa and most of the Middle East.)

Although the Sicilian people are against the deployment, as indicated by a petition signed by over a million of Sicily's five million inhabitants, Naso says they fear that overt resistance will incur the wrath of the Mafia, which would benefit from land speculation, drug sales, and prostitution connected to the base. Noting that the Pope said nothing about



Comiso activists midway through fast

Comiso when he visited Sicily in November, Naso added, "He talked about the Mafia and about peace in general, but for us, the name of peace is Comiso."

—Walter Lew

### ENGLAND/WEST GERMANY

## Base Blockades

**O**n the third anniversary of NATO's decision to base cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, thousands of people staged anti-deployment protests at military sites.

On December 12, at Greenham Common Air Force Base in Berkshire, England, where cruise missiles are due to be deployed this year, over 30,000 women from all over Europe linked arms to form a "living chain" around the base. The next day 2,000 women maintained a dawn-to-dusk blockade of entrances to the base; they threw themselves in front of buses carrying U.S. servicemen and British workers who are constructing silos for the missiles. A wall of singing women, four lines deep, held up a convoy of 28 vehicles trying to enter the base.

In West Germany, where Pershing II missiles as well as cruises are to be deployed, 5,000 protested at about 50 U.S., German, and Canadian military establishments. At Stuttgart, they blocked access roads to the headquarters of the U.S. Army in Europe. Protesters who did not obey orders to leave were each fined the cost of police labor required to drag them away.

## Wrap-Up

**SCANDINAVIA:** On December 7, the Danish parliament delayed contributions to the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe. Two weeks earlier, in Norway, the Conservative government's proposal for similar funds passed by only one vote, and there are serious doubts as to whether the proposal will survive. At a November meeting in Helsinki, Scandinavian defense ministers continued to discuss the Nordic nuclear weapons-free zone that was first proposed by Finland—the site of large antinuclear demonstrations this fall. Most recently, the Swedish government has proposed a free zone that would encompass more than just the Nordic region.

**AUSTRALIA:** The first case against the government for supposed negligence of safety procedures during Britain's 1956-7 atomic test explosions in the Maralinga Desert arrived in court in December. R.D. Johnstone, a former Royal Australian Air Force mechanic, charges that he has had health problems ever since being required to salvage and decontaminate vehicles in test areas.

**BRITAIN:** The *Manchester Guardian* has reported that some of the British task force ships involved in the Falkland Islands conflict carried nuclear arms because there had been no time to unload them beforehand; orders were given to remove them from the area once the confrontation became a "shooting war."

**THE BALKANS:** Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece has announced that a summit meeting between Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and possibly Turkey, will be held within the next 18 months to discuss proposals for a Balkans nuclear weapons-free zone. Papandreou's socialist government is also renegotiating agreements that allow U.S. bases and nuclear arms to be placed in Greece.

**SOUTHWEST PACIFIC:** The people of Palau, a republic 500 miles east of the Philippines, plan to vote this month on a Compact of Free Association with the United States that would overrule a clause in their constitution that bans nuclear arms from their islands. Despite strong antinuclear sentiment, the Palauans might be tempted to vote for the Compact, since it offers more than \$23 million annually for a 50-year lease of land for U.S. military uses. □



# Do TV And MX Mix?

**T**he night Ronald Reagan went on national television in late November to talk about the MX missile, several network news programs aired a Defense Department film clip of the controversial new weapon. The footage showed the missile's nose cone, shrouded in rocket gases, silently emerging from its protective silo. And there, emblazoned on the lethal tip of this doomsday machine, was a well-known insignia—not the flag of the United States, but the corporate logo of the oldest broadcasting company in the country, Westinghouse. The same people who launched the modern age of radio communications from a Pittsburgh rooftop in 1920 are now in the business of delivering what may prove to be the ultimate message of all time.

How did the Westinghouse logo—the distinctive “W” crowned by three balls—wind up on the nose cone of the beleagured MX missile? The answer, as one of the company's own slogans puts it, is that there's “more than meets the eye.”

Westinghouse, like two other large corporations that own radio and television stations—RCA and General Electric—is a major defense contractor. During World War I, Westinghouse sold vacuum tubes and radio transmitters to the U.S. Army Signal Corps. In 1981, the company's Defense Group posted \$1.3 billion in sales, 12 percent of Westinghouse's total sales and three times the revenue generated by its broadcasting division, Group W. As the seventeenth largest military contractor in the nation, Westinghouse makes electronic jamming systems for F-16 jets; radar for the E-3A Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS); and the missile-launching systems for the Trident, Tomahawk, and MX missiles.

The MX missile is sheathed in a canister from which it is launched. It is this canister that Westinghouse manufactures at its plant in Sunnyvale, California. Since 1977, when the MX was put into development, the company has received \$54 million in contracts for its work on the launcher. If Congress eventually appropriates the \$26 billion Reagan has requested to actually build and deploy the missile, Westinghouse

stands to make millions more.

Corporate involvement in the nation's nuclear weapons program is, of course, nothing new. A dozen other companies, including Martin Marietta, Boeing, Thiokol, and GTE Sylvania, have contracts to work on the MX missile. And firms such as Rockwell, Bendix, and DuPont make the components for the warheads themselves. What sets Westinghouse apart is that it also owns radio and television stations. That is, it is in the business of reporting on its own business.

This appearance of conflict of interest—even though, in this case, no instance of interference has ever come to light—is troublesome. Westinghouse owns five television stations (WJZ in Baltimore, WBZ in Boston, KYW in Philadelphia, KDKA in Pittsburgh, and KPIX in San Francisco), twelve radio stations, and the Satellite News Channel, a 24-hour, all-news, cable TV service. It recently acquired Teleprompter, one of the largest cable systems in the country, with 1.6 million subscribers. And it produces such nationally syndicated programs as *PM Magazine*, *We're Moving*, and *Hour Magazine*.

According to Charles Carroll, a company spokesman in Pittsburgh, Westinghouse is “very scrupulous” about keeping its defense and broadcast activities separate. “The parent company,” he says, “would never attempt to influence the editorial stance of any of its stations. For one thing, it would be wrong. For another, we don't want to lose our licenses.”

But Carroll is quick to admit he's concerned about appearances. “I could shoot the guy who painted our logo on that warhead,” he adds. “Every time I see it I wince.”

Carroll has good reason to be upset. Although the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates the broadcasting industry, has never revoked a license as a result of corporate interference in a station's activities, it has, on a number of occasions, expressed reservations about such potential conflicts of interest. In the late 1960s, when ITT attempted to take over ABC, the FCC narrowly approved the merger. But a minority report issued at the time warned



that “a company whose daily activities require it to manipulate governments at the highest level is likely to be left with little more respect for a free and independent press . . . than for conscientious officials.” The Justice Department, it turned out, had similar concerns about the conglomerate and asked the U.S. Court of Appeals to block the merger. Faced with the prospect of a lengthy legal battle, ITT backed off.

A second case involving General Tire and its wholly-owned subsidiary RKO General occurred in the mid-1970s. A group challenging RKO's television license in Boston, accused General Tire of making illegal contributions to Nixon's 1972 campaign. The SEC subsequently investigated and uncovered a wide range of illegal business activities. This, in turn, prompted General Tire to spin off its broadcast properties. Although no proof was ever offered that the parent company's misbehavior in any way affected the operation of its radio and television stations, it was, as the *Columbia University Survey of Broadcast Journalism* noted, “an admission of vulnerability, if not of guilt.”

As scrupulous as Westinghouse may be—one assignment editor in Satellite News Channel's Washington Bureau, which has prepared numerous reports on the MX missile, said the only pressure he's had from above is to “come up with more stories, faster”—even the appearance of conflict of interest ought to be avoided by media corporations. No self-respecting newspaper in this country would countenance having its masthead imprinted on a nuclear warhead. The broadcast media should be held to the same standards. □



# Planning For The Long Haul

**F**or maybe 20 minutes, back in 1961 or '62, I believed—I actually believed—that the civil rights movement was going to solve the race problem. Then, in the fall of 1963, I went to Mississippi with a group of students, mostly from Stanford and Yale, to spend a week helping a local group fighting for the vote for black people. For seven days I was afraid for my life from morning till night. I met a Communist (white) who argued the world would be best run by the Soviet Union. I met a revolutionary (black) who talked of arming the sharecroppers. I spent one restless night in a double bed with three black people. (I had never previously met a black person, nor even, I think, shaken hands with one.) The white mayor of a tiny town told me the nigras weren't *ever* going to come up to the white man. I spent three days with a young black named Chico and ended by hating him. For his buddy Wilson I think I would have risked my life. All in all a typical experience. I returned to school in a thoughtful mood, with a new sense that this thing was more complicated than I had supposed.

Some things popular movements can do, and some they can't. If movements have their seasons, then the new peace movement is in its first heady days of spring. The fear of nuclear weapons is like a subterranean river that has suddenly gushed to the surface. It is broad and powerful. Its potential to refocus the national life is vast. You can almost hear the alarmed whispers of political figures scurrying to get on the right side of the most popular single issue since—well, since the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the feminist movement, and the environmental movement.

We don't have to ask, why now? Now is a logical moment. President Reagan has been getting most of the blame, but it's not really Reagan's fault. When was anything that mattered ever the fault of anybody in particular? Nuclear weapons

themselves have been bossing us around since 1945, insisting that we build one to begin with, that we make them bigger, make them cheap, make lots of them; find a way to deliver them quickly, protect them from attack, make them accurate, devise a strategy for fighting with them. One technology has led to another. The defense establishment has scrambled to keep up, convinced that nuclear weapons—if we can only come up with the right theory for their "use"—can make us safe.

But they have not made us safe. If the rise of the peace movement tells us anything, it is that millions of people do not feel safe. The proper question, then, is what to do about it? To this question the peace movement has no single clear answer. In fact, it can't even agree what to call itself. I call it the peace movement, but others prefer to sharpen the focus to arms control, or broaden it to include all forms of nuclear energy, or narrow it to an effort to send good guys to Washington to replace the current crowd of bad guys. Back in the 1950s it was called the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or the "ban the bomb" movement.

But the truth is that the problem posed by nuclear weapons is a problem without a solution. It's too late to ban the bomb. When the United States first set out to build atomic weapons in 1942 nobody really knew how to go about it. Some of the difficulties involved—in particular the manufacture of fissionable material—seemed insuperable. Even so, starting from absolute scratch, it took only three years to make the first bomb. If the peace movement were to succeed beyond its wildest dreams, and actually ban all existing bombs, that would obviously have a dramatic effect on what was available the first day of a big general war. But how long would it take to build them again? Months? Weeks? We already know how to build nuclear weapons. We shall always know. The bomb is a permanent feature of the human landscape.

It is here that we have something to learn from earlier popular movements. The four big ones of recent decades—the civil rights, anti-war, feminist, and environmental movements—all focused on problems without solutions. I do not

mean that the problems were beyond amelioration. That was clearly not the case. The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 had a profound impact on the lives of black people, especially in the South, but they hardly solved the broader problem of racial friction and injustice. The other movements had similar histories—a sudden growth of popular awareness, as if people were seeing something for the first time; the coalescence of activist groups; a narrowing of organizational focus on legislative remedies; a cooling of popular feeling as it became clear there was no good single way to make the problem disappear for good and all; the shrinkage of the movement to a core of activists with the stamina for the long haul. The anti-war movement, with its focus on Vietnam, pretty much ended along with the war, but the others remain vital, if much reduced since their moment in the sun.

We can expect the new peace movement to follow a similar pattern. Clearly, its first job is to establish the broadest possible public consensus on the dangers posed by nuclear weapons in any hands, our own included. This consensus will be a mighty instrument at the polls. It is bound to caution any President thinking of foreign adventures, or dreaming that the Soviet Union can be forced into bankruptcy and collapse through an all-out arms race. It can force defense planners to retreat from wildly expensive war-fighting strategies back toward deterrence. It will ensure that no future arms agreement will die of inanition like SALT II, which went to the Senate with hardly a friend beyond its own negotiators. It may even do something to reduce the horrors waiting to happen on the first day of a big general war.

But the peace movement can't free us of the fear of nuclear weapons. Perhaps its closest parallel is with the environmental movement. There, too, the danger is the fruit of our own genius and industry. We must save the redwoods, the national parks, the snail darter and the great blue whale, the very air we breathe and the water we drink, not once but many times. The belief that weapons make us safe will not die easily. Like it or not, we are in for the long haul. □

*Thomas Powers is the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of several books, including Thinking About The Next War (Alfred A. Knopf).*



FILM

# Berrigans Get the Last Word

**E**mile de Antonio's new film, *In The King of Prussia*, reenacts the trial of the Plowshares Eight, a group of Catholic activists who in September 1980 broke into a General Electric nuclear weapons plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, hammered on nuclear missile nosecones and poured blood on documents. The eight defendants, including Daniel and Philip Berrigan, play themselves in the film while the judge is portrayed by actor Martin Sheen.

De Antonio, director of *Point Of Order*, *Millhouse*, and other documentaries, was blocked by the court in his attempt to film the actual trial. (His appeal was denied by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.) De Antonio subsequently took the 1300-page trial transcript and reworked it into a 70-page film script. Sheen contributed \$5000 to help De Antonio complete the film. Jackson Browne rerecorded his song, "Crow on the Cradle," for the soundtrack.

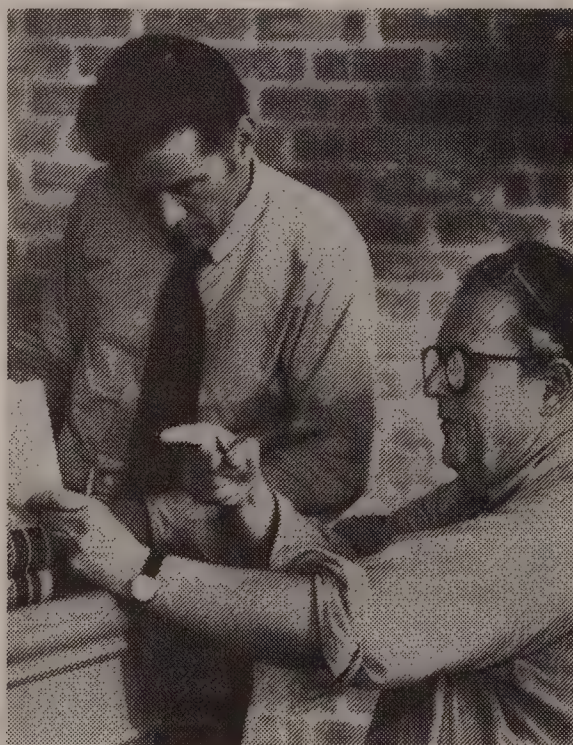
The film's technical quality is crude. The sound is sometimes unclear, cameramen are occasionally visible, and the lack of rehearsal time gives some of the courtroom scenes a bizarre experimental theater look. De Antonio concedes that *In The King of Prussia* lacks many of the technical amenities that "any idiot in film school could do." But the film succeeds in the more important area of conveying the depth of the Plowshares Eight's passionate commitment to their cause.

Some of the technical shortcomings actually help the film. The "courtroom" was set at the Labor Theatre in Manhattan. Filming was completed in one weekend in July 1981 because most of the cast had to report to jail on Monday. The air conditioning broke down, leading to 115 degree temperatures in the courtroom. The frenzied pace of the filming combines with the actors' discomfort to produce an atmosphere of heightened tension.

Some of the film's most effective moments come when the defendants try to make the GE plant employees (portrayed by professional actors) accept the grim reality of their jobs. On the witness stand the security guards refuse to refer to the Mark 12A warheads as "weapons of destruction." The nosecones are called



Dan and Phil Berrigan flank judge Martin Sheen: "A pathetic mistake"



Sheen gets direction from de Antonio

"structures," "hardware," and "property," but never agents of death. The plant itself is called a "Reentry Systems Division Operational Manufacturing Center," instead of a nuclear weapons factory. As the defendants try to get behind the euphemisms that mask the plant's purpose, it becomes apparent that the GE employees may actually believe what they are saying. At the very least, they are afraid to learn the true nature of the objects they are paid to protect.

The Plowshares Eight speak in their own defense and freely admit that they

broke into the plant and attacked the warheads. They justify their actions on grounds that the plant was producing first-strike weapons that threatened the survival of humanity. Judge Samuel Salus (Sheen) refuses to allow this line of defense, declaring, "Nuclear weapons are not on trial here. You are."

But de Antonio's docudrama technique allows the Plowshares Eight the full defense denied them in court. Prevented from covering the actual trial, de Antonio filmed the action outside the courtroom, and intersperses this material with footage from the recreated trial. Expert witnesses who were not allowed to testify before the jury told their stories on the courthouse steps, and de Antonio captured their comments. Nobel laureate George Wald, former Lockheed engineer Robert Aldridge, international law professor Richard Falk, and psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton briefly describe the horrors of nuclear war, the nature of the weapons produced at the King of Prussia plant, and the applicability of the Nuremberg principles.

The film's most moving moment comes in an emotional 10-minute courtroom speech by Daniel Berrigan, which de Antonio refers to as a "showstopper." He tells of growing up in Minnesota's Iron Range in a family where "there were no crooked lines," and speaks of nuclear weaponry as a cancer eating away at our society.

Despite the defendants' eloquent at-



tempts to justify their actions, all are convicted and given sentences ranging from 1½ to 10 years in prison. The film closes with former attorney general Ramsey Clark, the Berrigans' attorney, declaring that the sentences "show how dangerous it is to seek peace in America."

In a cinematic sense, the Plowshares Eight were lucky to be assigned a judge like Samuel Salus. As portrayed by Sheen, Salus is intolerant, self-contradictory and paranoid. (Sheen calls his role "as close to bravery as I'm ever likely to come.") With the jury present, he refers to the defendants' actions as "a pathetic mistake," then denies their motion for a mistrial. During sentencing, he remarks that he would like to send them to "a leper colony in Puerto Rico" or to "a Siberian cell." But while Salus' intolerance exposes some of the weaknesses of the American judicial system, at times his behavior seems so farcical that it undermines the film's credibility. He seems like an aberration, not the personification of justice in America.

Other weaknesses stem from de Antonio's decision to make a docudrama—an amalgam of documentary and dramatic footage. While the contrast between the studio-filmed courtroom scenes and the videotaped documentary footage is clear, the lines between fact and fiction remain nonetheless blurred. The viewer is given the impression that the courtroom scenes are verbatim reenactments of the trial, yet de Antonio admits that liberties were taken. "I had no interest in slavishly following the transcript," he says. The GE employees were composite characters. Daniel Berrigan's showstopping speech isn't the same one that he delivered in court—it's better. Other scenes, such as one in which the courtroom audience sings "Kumbaya," are further examples of dramatic embellishment. But *In The King of Prussia* works well as a passionate statement on the horrors of living under the threat of nuclear annihilation.

De Antonio scoffs at charges that the film is a bastardization of the documentary format. Like French director Jean-Luc Godard, he believes that "all film is fiction: There's no such thing as a documentary because no man, no woman is objective."

*In the King of Prussia* received its U.S. premiere in Minneapolis in November and will be shown across the country in the weeks ahead. (It opens in New York on February 9.) It has been shown on Dutch television and soon will be aired in Finland, Sweden, and England.

—Sam Delson

Sam Delson, a freelance writer in Minnesota, has written for *The Progressive* and *In These Times*.

## HUMOR

# A Letter From Armageddon Foods

**Y**ou are reading this letter because you are one of our preferred customers. You wisely purchased an ARMAGEDDON FOOD SYSTEM. We're proud of you. You own at least five years of reserve foodstuffs with a shelf life of forty years. If nuclear disaster doesn't occur in the next forty years, we can only say we're sorry.

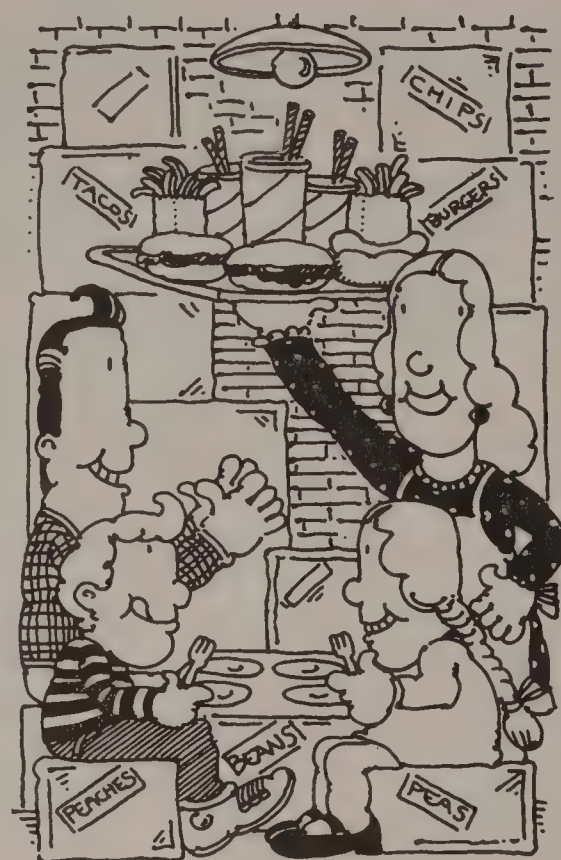
But we didn't get into the survival-foods business because we're optimists. We got into it because there was *money* in it. Money for us, survival for you. It's a fair deal, you know that. If only one *idea* survives the inevitable world conflict, it will be the fair-price-for-goods-in-a-free-market-economy. It is quite possible that you and I will be the people who will *control* the free market after nuclear attack. You can read all about free enterprise in the latest issue of *Life After Nuclear Annihilation*, a publication of the political arm of ARMAGEDDON FOODS.

As you know, we like to have strong lines of communication with you, *our people*. What we've been hearing lately from you is that beans and rice and peas and elbow macaroni and hog-flavored vegetable protein would be OK for the first two or three weeks after a nuclear war. But you seem to feel that once you got adjusted to the fact that all the people in the world could be comfortably seated in a football stadium, your appetite would come back. You're telling us that reconstituted potato flakes with a generous helping of margarine powder might not satisfy you. It's a good point. At ARMAGEDDON FOODS we've been working on this and we have good news for you.

We will, of course, continue to offer the BASIC ARMAGEDDON FOOD SYSTEM, with one small change. We're leaving out the soy grits. Some of you said when you tried the soy grits in the complimentary ARMAGEDDON SAMPLE PACK we send with each system, you became depressed. More than one of you said you would rather die than eat soy grits. That's not a survival attitude. So out went the soy grits.

Here's the good news. We now offer the one, two, and three year ARMAGEDDON FAST FOOD SYSTEM. You will recognize the same attractive cardboard boxes filled with cans and pails. These, too, can be used as furniture and sports equipment and will be a constant reminder that nuclear destruction is just around the corner. But inside you have a treat in store. Try to imagine this scene:

You have spent a couple of days in your shelter discussing the nuclear war you've



just survived, but you and your family and friends decide not to dwell on the past. You've had some wonderful meals of red beans and diced carrots, you've had the delicious twelve-grain cereal for breakfast. For a week or two you work at tidying up the shelter, making it more like home. Then you decide to look outside, using the patented ARMAGEDDON PERISCOPE, naturally.

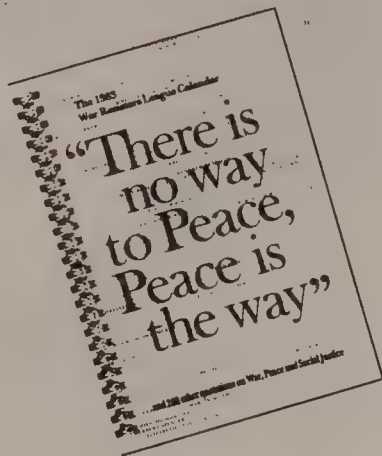
What you see will probably look like Las Vegas, without the casinos. That's when you're going to need more than brown rice with applesauce granules. A certain degree of shock can be expected, even in people like us. Tell me, wouldn't a big hamburger with everything, fries, and a chocolate malt hit the spot about then? It would be a way of saying: "Hey, life goes on."

The ARMAGEDDON FAST FOOD SYSTEM contains all your favorites in case lots: cheeseburgers, hamburgers, pork burgers, fish burgers, chicken burgers, pizza burgers, and tacos. But there's also a generous supply of snack cakes, red licorice, chocolate bars, and potato chips. And—this was a food-processing miracle—powdered soda pop. All these items and more come in the familiar brand names, which is part of the *fun* of eating, we know. We made arrangements with every major manufacturer of junk, snack, and fast foods to use their names *with* their products. Like us, they're investing in the future. But for reasons of security they wish to remain incognito for the present.



## The War Resisters League 1983 Calendar and Appointment Book

"There Is No Way To Peace,  
Peace Is The Way"  
and 266 other quotations on War,  
Peace and Social Justice



Exactly how does Thoreau's comment about a different drummer go? Who wrote "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel"? What was it that Emma Goldman said about free love? Find out in the 1983 WRL Calendar.

This desk calendar has 128 pages (5½ × 8½) and is wirebound for convenient opening. It has a page for every week of the year, and, on facing pages there are quotes, quotes, quotes.

This handsome and informative calendar is ideal as an inexpensive gift that will be used each day and remembered the whole year through.

**\$5.00 each, four for \$18.00**

I enclose \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ 1983 Peace  
Calendars at \$5.00 each, four for  
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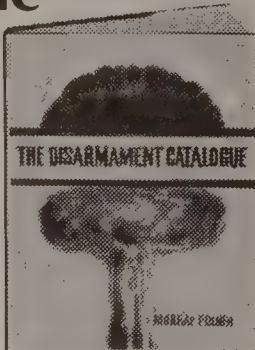
\_\_\_\_\_ Please send me more information about the  
War Resisters League, a 60-year-old orga-  
nization committed to nonviolence and the  
abolition of war.

\_\_\_\_\_ Please send me a list of the other printed  
materials you have available.

**Return to:**  
**WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE**  
**339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012**

## The Disarmament Catalogue

Murray Polner



For all those who are concerned about the threat of nuclear holocaust, this book is indispensable. The material collected here from writers as diverse as Dorothy Day and Alexander Haig illustrates a range of attitudes toward war and peace and the current global situation. *The Disarmament Catalogue* presents a well-researched array of facts and figures, and provides extensive, comprehensive resource lists of books, films, videotapes, organizations, schools, churches, synagogues and other groups involved in the struggle to end war. Packed with specific information for groups and individuals, this book is a must for everyone who believes that world disarmament is our primary goal. **\$12.95 paper.**

Available from The Pilgrim Press  
132 West 31 Street  
New York, New York 10001

## World Military and Social Expenditures 1982

by Ruth Leger Sivard

A rich and colorful assessment of the world's military follies. Included in the 1982 edition is a poster-size map of MOSCINGTON, illustrating the effects of a single nuclearbomb on each of the capital cities.

"These [annual] volumes deserve maximum distribution and attention".

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## • CULTURE •

Included with the ARMAGEDDON FAST FOOD SYSTEM is a case of reusable Styrofoam hinged-wallets for putting the food in before you eat it. Everything has been freeze-dried. Add water, and it will be as good as the day it was made and just as tasty.

Now, before I go on to something even more super than our FAST FOOD SYSTEM, it is my unpleasant task to mention a recent story that appeared in the Nation's press. Of course they played it for all it was worth. (If we have our way, after nuclear war there will be *one* newspaper. That's enough for any world.) Here's what happened. A little group of anti-nuke freaks—you know the type—bought space in a couple of magazines and advertised *dehydrated water* for sale. They said it would be a necessary complement to the dried foods that *our* customers have piled in their homes and caves. What good is dried food if you don't have water? they asked. They said they had developed a method to freeze-dry water. Well, *it was a trick*. If you are one of the people who ordered their so-called dehydrated water, you can get your money back. That's what consumer laws are for. And keep the fruit jars they sent it in. They are empty.

Sure you need water to reconstitute the food in the ARMAGEDDON SYSTEMS. You can buy it from us at a special 30 percent discount to our regular customers if you order by Christmas.

As I said, we have a surprise for you. More details next time I sit down with pen in hand, but here's a preview. Life is more than food. Guns and sports, for example. We are very pleased to announce the ARMAGEDDON RECREATION SYSTEM: hermetically sealed cans and barrels containing the kind of entertainment that would go best during your leisure hours after nuclear war.

There will be no choice in this system, but that should be no problem. We already know what you like. Trust us. You will find no punk rock, or even *rock*, for that matter, in the ARMAGEDDON SYSTEM: mostly easy-listening, and a little dance music. We include twelve books, the twelve I have on my shelf. Of course, they are condensed. We wish the ARMAGEDDON RECREATION SYSTEM were ready right now, but frankly we ran into negotiation problems with the TV package. *Gilligan's Island* cost more than we were willing to pay. Remember. Survival is not everybody's business. It's ours. Until next time. Maybe. —Howard Mohr

Howard Mohr is a frequent contributor to the *Prairie Home Companion*, a live radio show broadcasted on National Public Radio.



# • RESOURCES •

## NEW BOOKS

**Nuclear Peril: The Politics of Proliferation** by Edward J. Markey with Douglas C. Waller, foreword by Edward M. Kennedy (Ballinger, \$14.95). Representative Markey of Massachusetts focuses on his efforts to halt a recent U.S. sale of nuclear fuel to India for its Tarapur reactor, arguing that nuclear proliferation is the most immediate threat to world peace. Markey urges disarmament and antinuclear power groups to join hands to eliminate nuclear technology.

**Last Aid: The Medical Dimensions of Nuclear War** edited by Eric Chivian, M.D., Susanna Chivian, Robert Jay Lifton, M.D., John E. Mack, M.D. (W.H. Freeman, \$9.95 paper). A collection of articles that grew out of the First Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, written by physicians from Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Japan, and the U.S.

**Jenny** by Yorick Blumenfeld (Little, Brown, \$5.95). A short novel in diary form about the heroine's experience in the aftermath of nuclear attack on Great Britain. Soon to be a film on Home Box Office, starring Jill Clayburgh.

**World Armaments and Disarmament: The SIPRI Yearbook 1982** by Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain, \$55). An invaluable annual guide to current issues and statistics on the arms race. OGH also publishes an abridged paperback version, **Arms Race and Arms Control** (\$9.95). **The Evolution of Nuclear Strategy** by Lawrence Freedman (St. Martin's, \$10.95). Since these weapons probably cannot be properly controlled, the author of this well-researched history argues that "nuclear strategy" is a contradiction in terms."

## NEWSLETTERS

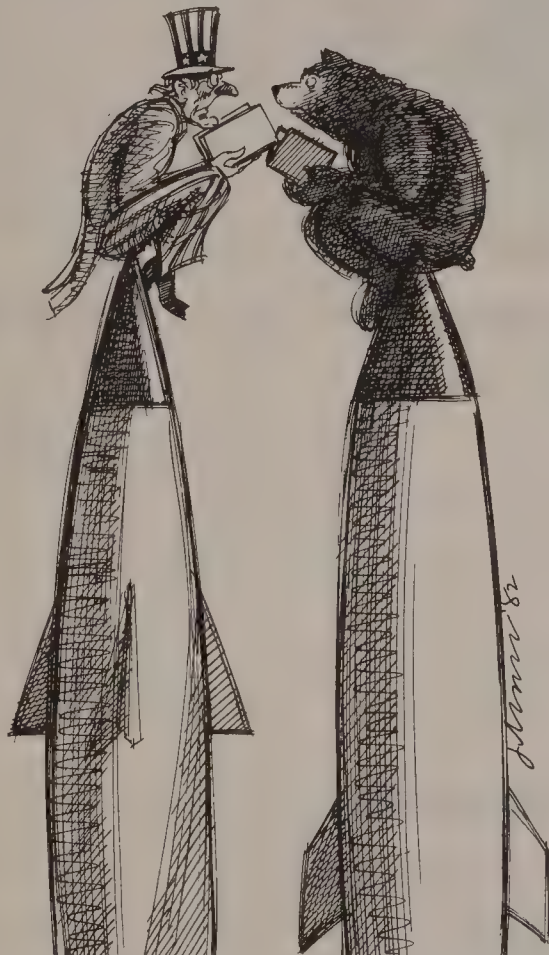
**FAS Countdown** bimonthly newsletter of the (Federation of American Scientists Nuclear War Education Project, 307 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002). This newsletter features resources and sample course outlines for educators putting together classes on nuclear war and disarmament. FAS also furnishes a packet of outlines from courses now being taught.

## CALENDARS

**The Disarmament Calendar for 1983** (\$5.50 including shipping, from Syracuse Cultural Workers Project, P.O. Box 6367, Syracuse, N.Y. 13217. Discounts available on large orders.) This year's wall calendar is illustrated with photographs of the June 12 rally and other international disarmament demonstrations. It

includes facts and figures about the arms race and the peace movement, national and international resources and contacts.

**The 1983 War Resisters League Calendar** (\$5.00 each/ four for \$18.00 from War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012) The 1983 edition of this desk calendar is entitled "*There is No Way to Peace, Peace is the Way*"—one of 267 quotations included on war, peace, and social justice. Playwright Barbara Garson, author of *Macbird*, contributed an introduction.



## ABOUT THE RUSSIANS

**Russian Roulette: The Superpower Game** by Arthur Macy Cox (Times Books, \$14.95). A former State Department and CIA official blames the failure of arms control negotiations on hawks in both Washington and Moscow. One chapter is a response from a member of Moscow's Central Committee who is the Soviet's leading expert on the U.S.

**The Soviet Estimate: U.S. Intelligence Analysis and Russian Military Strength** by John Prados (Dial, \$17.95). This even-handed account is about the efforts of the CIA and U.S. military intelligence since World War II to keep track of the Soviet arsenal. Prados recounts how bureaucratic rivalries within the American intelligence community contribute to exaggerated estimates of Soviet strength, and result in such intelligence hoaxes as "the bomber gap" and "the missile gap" that perpetuate the arms race.

**What About the Russians?** by Sanford Gottlieb (\$1.75 from Student/Teacher Orga-

nization to Prevent Nuclear War, Box 232, Northfield, MA 01360). This clear, concise manual discusses questions like "Who's really ahead?", "Is Soviet influence growing worldwide?", and "Once they've signed a treaty, don't the Soviets cheat?"

**The Day After Midnight** edited by Michael Riordan (Cheshire Books, distributed by Kampmann & Co., New York, \$7.95). This book is based on *The Effects of Nuclear War*, a 1979 report by Congress' Office of Technology Assessment—the first federal government report to acknowledge and graphically describe the economic and social effects of nuclear war on both the United States and the Soviet Union.

**Q & A: Questions and Answers on the Soviet Threat and National Security** (\$1.00; discounts available on large orders. Include 15% for postage and handling. Disarmament Program, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.) This pamphlet takes on problems such as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Soviet designs on Middle East oil, and questions like "Isn't military spending good for the economy? World War II got us out of the Depression, didn't it?"

## HANDBOOKS/GUIDES

**Civil Defense Information Packet** (\$5.00 from the Traprock Peace Center, Keets Road, Deerfield, MA 01342) Contains expert opinions on civil defense in the United States and the Soviet Union.

**World Military and Social Expenditures 1982** by Ruth Leger Sivard (\$4.00, including postage, from World Priorities, Inc., Box 1003, Leesburg, Va. 22075. Editions of 1974, 1976-1981 also available). By documenting military expansion and human needs, this valuable and readable annual report illustrates the cost of the arms race. The new edition includes a fold-out chart detailing the effects of a one-megaton bomb on both Washington and Moscow.

**Guide to War Tax Resistance** (War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012, \$6.00) Worth bearing in mind as W-2 forms arrive.

**Military Budget Manual** Fiscal Year 1983 Edition (\$1.50 from SANE, 711 G Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20003. Discounts available on larger orders.) How to cut arms spending without harming national security.

**No Holds Barred: The Final Congressional Testimony of Admiral Hyman Rickover** (\$1.50 from the Center for Responsive Law, Department B, P.O. Box 19367, Washington, D.C. 20036.)

—Compiled by  
Anne Marie Cunningham.



# • CALENDAR •

## CONTINUING EVENTS CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES

This month, this weekly series of half-hour radio programs on various military and foreign policy topics, broadcast by over 130 stations, will include an interview with Randall Forsberg, entitled "The Freeze Landslide," and a program on "Nuclear Culture" with Paul Loeb and John Mack. For a monthly program guide and list of local stations and schedules (\$5), write to Bob Musil, SANE Education Fund, 5808 Greene St., Philadelphia, PA 19144 (215) 848-4100.

## JANUARY 1 INTERNATIONAL

• The Group to Establish Mutual Trust Between the USSR and the USA, an independent Soviet peace group, is calling on people around the world to reflect for ten minutes on peace, beginning at 15:00, Greenwich Mean Time.

### NEVADA

• Las Vegas Film, "Gods of Metal"; various churches in the area. *Contact:* Sister Rosemary Lynch, 704 W. MacWilliams Av, Las Vegas, NV 89106 (702) 647-3610.

## JANUARY 2 KANSAS

• Potwin Vigil at a Titan II missile site first Sunday of each month. *Contact:* Gordon Houser, 1027 N. Ash St, Newton, KS 67114 (316) 283-9586.

### MASSACHUSETTS

• Cambridge Silent vigil, "Witness for Peace," every Sunday: Cambridge Commons, Massachusetts Av at Goddard St. *Contact:* Cambridge Interfaith Peace Council, 11 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 776-8860.

## JANUARY 3 NATIONWIDE

• "George Kennan: A Critical Voice," a profile of the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and his views on the arms race, televised over the Public Broadcasting System; check local listings for time and station.

### KANSAS

• Newton Course "A Theology of Peacemaking," a series of lectures by Dr. LeRou Friesen; Bethel College, through Jan. 27. *Contact:* Elmer Ediger, Box 467, Newton, KS 67114 (316) 283-2400.

### MISSOURI

• Clayton Vigil at General Dynamics headquarters; Forsythe Av. *Contact:* Michael McIntyre, 3753 W. Pine Blvd, St. Louis, MO 63108 (314) 863-3287.

### WISCONSIN

• Madison Vigil at the Federal Center to protest the arms race, every Monday. *Contact:* Gaudete Peace and Justice Center, 634 Spruce St, Madison, WI 53715 (608) 257-4996.

## JANUARY 4 NEW YORK

• Romulus Leafletting of workers at the Seneca Army Depot; main entrance, every Tuesday. *Contact:* Fingerlakes Peace Alliance, 21 High St, Geneva, NY 14456 (315) 789-2686.



"Portable Shelter" dress for the "Fallout Fashion Show," February 2 in Los Angeles.

## JANUARY 5 RHODE ISLAND

• Providence Vigil for world peace and nuclear disarmament; Westminster Mall, every Wednesday. *Contact:* Rhode Island Mobilization for Survival, Box 2534, Providence, RI 02906 (401) 421-8612.

### WASHINGTON

• Poulsbo Talk and discussion on various topics related to non-violence and social change, every Wednesday; Ground Zero Center for Non-violent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370 (206) 692-7053.

## JANUARY 7 NATIONAL

• Julie Loesch, national coordinator of Prolifers for Survival, will be giving a series of talks, "Nukes and the Next Generation," in: Louisville, Kentucky Jan 7-8, *Contact:* Carol Miller (502) 459-4929; Lexington, Kentucky Jan 9, *Contact:* Marie Ellen Neill (606) 293-2265; Chattanooga, Tennessee Jan 10-11; Pensacola, Florida Jan 13, *Contact:* Sister Rose (904) 434-6554; New Orleans, Louisiana Jan 14-15, *Contact:* Virginia Welch (204) 482-3076; Jackson, Mississippi Jan 16, *Contact:* Tom Brown (601) 355-7123; Memphis, Tennessee Jan 17-18, *Contact:* Betty Gifford (901) 685-1579; Subiaco, Arkansas Jan 19-20, *Contact:* David Sueschi (501) 934-4545.

### MARYLAND

• Kensington Vigil at the Vitro Lab, where parts for the Trident submarine are made; Connecticut at Georgia Av, first Friday of every month. *Contact:* Prolifers for Survival, P.O. Box 84, Damascus, MD 20872.

### NEW YORK

• Niskayuna Leafletting at the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory; River Rd, every Friday. *Contact:* Knolls Action Project, Box 3152, Albany, NY 12203 (518) 434-4037.

### WYOMING

• Cheyenne Meeting of the Wyoming Church Coalition and the Wyoming Human Resources Confederation to discuss the impact of basing MX missiles nearby; Laramie County Library.

*Contact:* Wyoming Church Coalition, 1601 S Melrose, Casper, WY 82601 (307) 266-4447.

## JANUARY 8 CALIFORNIA

• San Francisco Workshop, "Despair and Empowerment"; Fort Mason, Room B-340, through Jan 9; *Contact:* Waking Up in the Nuclear Age, Box 23, Ft. Mason, CA 94123 (415) 928-2014.

### NEW YORK

• New York War tax resistance counseling, "Don't Go to H & R Block; Block the IRS," with Ed Hedeman; War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

### OREGON

• Salem Statewide meeting of freeze groups to discuss future strategy; First Congregational Church, 700 Marion St NE. *Contact:* Citizen Action for Lasting Security, P.O. 12763, Salem, OR 97309 (503) 371-8002.

## JANUARY 9 CALIFORNIA

• San Francisco Sing-along, "Hoote-nany/Anti-Nukenanny." *Contact:* Center to Prevent Nuclear Annihilation, P.O. Box 837, El Granada, CA 94018 (415) 726-2054.

### ILLINOIS

• Chicago Opening of "Patch Works and Peace Quilts," an exhibit on Peace, Human Rights, and Refugees in the Americas; Peace Museum, 364 W. Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860, through Feb. 27.

### NEW YORK

• New York Talk on the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter by Sister Joan Chittester; Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10027 (212) 222-5900.

### NORTH CAROLINA

• Charlotte Peace vigil; corner of Morehead and MacDowell. *Contact:* Jean Wood, SANE, 5334 Deveron, Charlotte, NC 28211 (704) 364-1518.

## JANUARY 11 MINNESOTA

• Minneapolis "The Burrow," a theatrical adaptation of a story by Franz Kafka about a mole who builds elaborate defense systems, performed by Court Dorsey; Walker Church. *Contact:* Northern Sun Alliance, 1519 E. Franklin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55404 (612) 874-1540.

## JANUARY 12 CALIFORNIA

• Los Angeles Film, "Race to Oblivion"; Marriot Hotel. *Contact:* Charlene Richards, Nurses for Social Responsibility, 16 Mast St, Marina del Rey, CA 90291 (213) 399-8155.

### MINNESOTA

• St. Paul The Peace Advocates Group is sponsoring a series of talks on non-violent stances toward nuclear arms: "Actions of the State and Personal Responsibility," by Jim Lynsky (Jan 12); "The Legal Ramifications of Tax Resistance," by Howard Vogel (Jan 19); "Conscientious Objection and Alternative Service in the 1980's," by Steve

Jongewaard and Don Irish (Jan 26); Learning Center Faculty Lounge, Hamline University. *Contact:* Steve Jongewaard, 1536 Hewitt Av, St. Paul, MN 55104 (612) 641-2216.

### MISSOURI

• St. Louis Registration deadline for the February 4-6 national conference of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell St, Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108 (314) 533-1169.

### NEW YORK

• New York Talk, "Psychological Effects of the Nuclear Arms Race," by Robert Jay Lifton; Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center. *Contact:* Allen Silverstone, 1275 York Av, New York, NY 10021 (212) 794-8454.

### NORTH CAROLINA

• Raleigh Legislative workshop on the nuclear weapons freeze, by Chip Reynolds. *Contact:* Evelyn Mattern, 201-A Bryan Building, Raleigh, NC 27605 (919) 828-6501.

## JANUARY 13 NEBRASKA

• Lincoln Film, "In the King of Prussia," to benefit Nebraskans for Peace; Sheldon Film Theater, Univ. of Nebraska through Jan 17. *Contact:* Dan Ladely (402) 472-2461.

## JANUARY 14 CALIFORNIA

• San Francisco California freeze conference, including workshops and planning for 1983 and beyond; San Francisco State Univ., 330 Jackson St, San Francisco, CA 94111 (415) 986-7605.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

• Manchester Talk, "Peacework in a War Era," by Elise Boulding; Manchester Unitarian Church. *Contact:* Arnie Alpert, AFSC, Box 1081, Concord, NH 03301 (603) 224-2407.

## JANUARY 15 NATIONWIDE

• People around the country will be commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. with a wide range of activities; for local events, contact chapters of Clergy and Laity Concerned (212) 964-6730 or other peace and church groups.

• Mobilization for Survival has designated January 15 for calling in to the office of Secretary of State George Shultz, (202) 632-9884, about U.S. foreign policy. *Contact:* Jackie Geld, 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003 (212) 533-0008.

### CALIFORNIA

• Bay Area War tax resistance workshop. *Contact:* Northern California War Tax Resistance, 2118 8th St, Berkeley, CA 94710 (415) 849-2360.

• San Francisco Forum on the issue of a first strike, with Patricia Ellsberg; The New College of California, 777 Valencia St. *Contact:* Women's Party for Survival, 13 Columbus Av, San Francisco, CA 94111 (415) 981-8909.

### IOWA

• Des Moines Meeting of the 4th congressional district freeze campaign; Friends Meeting House, 42 St at Grant. *Contact:* Timothy Button, Iowa Freeze Campaign, 4211 Grand Av, Des



Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

#### **NORTH CAROLINA**

• **Fayetteville** Workshops, talks, and films on the arms race and nuclear freeze. *Contact:* Bob Gosney, 223 Hillside Av, Fayetteville, NC 28301 (919) 323-3912.

#### **JANUARY 16**

##### **MASSACHUSETTS**

• **Arlington** Sermon, "Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Struggle for Peace and Disarmament"; First Parish Church, Unitarian Universalists, 6309 Massachusetts Av, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 648-3799.

• **Cambridge** Conference, "Peacemaking as a Responsibility of the Community of Faith." *Contact:* Cambridge Interfaith Peace Council, 11 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 776-8860.

#### **JANUARY 17**

##### **VIRGINIA**

• **Norfolk** University disarmament program, including speakers, a literature table, and posters; Old Dominion University, through Jan 21. *Contact:* Langdon Bristol, 1537 Laskin Rd, Virginia Beach, VA 23451 (804) 425-5414.

#### **JANUARY 18**

##### **CONNECTICUT**

• **Hartford** Monthly meeting of the Greater Hartford Nuclear Arms Freeze Campaign. *Contact:* Roz Spier, 111 Whapley Rd, Glastonbury, CT 06033 (203) 633-0120.

##### **GEORGIA**

• **Athens** Membership meeting for Northeast Georgia Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze; Lutheran Center, 1010 S. Lumpkin St. *Contact:* Tom Clements (404) 725-7717.

##### **MISSISSIPPI**

• **Jackson** Forum on the nuclear weapons freeze, with Karin Fierke of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Clearinghouse; Millsaps College. *Contact:* Sister Annette Seymour, P.O. Box 57, Jackson, MS 39205 (601) 969-3130.

##### **NEW JERSEY**

• **Morristown** Statewide meeting of the Safe Energy Alternatives Alliance on the nuclear freeze campaign; Church of the Redeemer, 26 South St. *Contact:* Morris County SEA Alliance, Box 271, New Vernon, NJ 07976 (201) 538-6676.

##### **TEXAS**

• **Houston** Luncheon meeting for clergy on the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter about nuclear arms; Autry House, 6265 Main St. *Contact:* The Reverend Phineas Washer, John Knox Presbyterian Church, 2525 Gessner St, Houston, TX 77080 (713) 462-5448.

##### **WASHINGTON**

• **Seattle** Talk, "Health Impacts of the Nuclear Arms Race," by Victor Sidel; Universal Friends Center, 4001 9th Av NE. *Contact:* Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility, 4534 1/2 University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105 (206) 632-9246.

#### **JANUARY 20**

##### **ARIZONA**

• **Tucson** Talk, "Nuclear Free Zones," by Sam Day, Jr., former editor of the *Bulletin for Atomic Scientists*. *Contact:* Edwina Vogan, Nuclear-free State, 1145 E. 6 St, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 792-3517.

##### **MICHIGAN**

• **Detroit** Discussion and slide show, "International Politics and U.S. Foreign Policy," with Maurice Waters. *Contact:* Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, 5229 Cass Av, Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 577-3468.

#### **JANUARY 21**

##### **ARIZONA**

• **Tucson** "Common Meal to Honor Uncommon People" for Sister Carol Coston, founder of Network, a Catholic lobbying group, and Carol Elsbrandt, peace worker; St. Cyril's Church, E. Pima St. *Contact:* Arizonans for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 1031 E 6 St, Tucson, AZ 85719 (602) 623-7951.

##### **CALIFORNIA**

• **Lompoc** Occupation and blockade of the Vandenburg Air Force Base to protest the first test flight of the MX missile, through Jan 27. *Contact:* Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck, Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 644-2028.

• **San Francisco** Annual national meeting of Physicians for Social Responsibility; Sheraton Palace Hotel, 639 Market St., through Jan 23. *Contact:* PSR, 639 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 491-2754.

##### **GEORGIA**

• **Atlanta** Symposium, "Instituting Education on Nuclear War," including a meeting of the National Nuclear Age Educators Project; Emory University, through Jan 23. *Contact:* International Student Pugwash, 305 Massachusetts Av NE, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-1784.

• **Atlanta** National Jobs with Peace conference; Atlanta University. *Contact:* Jobs with Peace National Network, 2990 22nd St, San Francisco, CA 94110 (415) 821-1064.

##### **ILLINOIS**

• **Chicago** Prayer retreat and conference, "Gandhi: Prophet of Peace," with Sister Mary Evelyn Jegen, national coordinator of Pax Christi International; The Cenacle. *Contact:* Sister Mary Evelyn Jegen, 11600 Longwood Dr, Chicago, IL 60643 (312) 445-6700.

##### **MARYLAND**

• Workshop, "Nurturing Small Groups for Peacemaking"; Dayspring Farm. *Contact:* World Peacemakers, 2025 Massachusetts Av NW, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 265-7582.

#### **JANUARY 22**

##### **NEVADA**

• **Las Vegas** Meeting of the local chapter of American Association of University Women on the nuclear arms race, including the film, "The Last Epidemic." *Contact:* Fran Polk, 925 Sierra Vista, No. 306, Las Vegas, NV 89109 (702) 731-1472.

##### **OREGON**

• **Portland** Regional meeting of Oregon and Washington freeze groups. *Contact:* CALS, see **January 8**, Oregon.

##### **VIRGINIA**

• **West Point** Freeze conference for the first congressional district, including a planning session for developing a local freeze campaign; Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament Church, Route 30. *Contact:* Langdon Bristol, see **January 16**, Virginia.

##### **WEST VIRGINIA**

• **Charleston** State freeze day, with a

rally on Jan 23. *Contact:* Mike Kelly, Peace News, P.O. Box 246, Charleston, WV 25321 (304) 342-2395.

#### **JANUARY 23**

##### **CALIFORNIA**

• **Lompoc** Alliance for Survival and Lompoc Safe Energy Coalition legal rally to protest the first test flight of the MX missile. *Contact:* Alliance for Survival, 1503 N. Hobart Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90027 (213) 462-6243.

##### **KENTUCKY**

• **Louisville** Teach-in on South Africa, including connections with the arms race; also, Jan 28 in **Berea** and **Lexington**. *Contact:* Pat Leegan, Peace Education Program, 318 W. Kentucky St, Louisville, KY 40203 (502) 589-6593.

#### **JANUARY 24**

##### **WEST VIRGINIA**

• **Charleston** Day of lobbying the state legislature for a freeze resolution. *Contact:* Mike Kelly, see **January 22**, West Virginia.

#### **JANUARY 25**

##### **NEW JERSEY**

• **Morristown** Forum on psychological aspects of the nuclear age; Church of the Redeemer. *Contact:* Morris County SEA Alliance, see **January 18**, New Jersey.

##### **TENNESSEE**

• **Nashville** Talk on the arms race by former congressman Father Robert Drinan. *Contact:* Nashvillians for a Nuclear Arms Freeze, P.O. Box 12133, Nashville, TN 37212 (615) 297-5903.

#### **JANUARY 27**

##### **NATIONWIDE**

• To commemorate those who have died as a result of America's nuclear arms program, Citizens Call is sponsoring candlelight vigils around the country on the 32nd anniversary of testing at the Nevada Nuclear Test Site. People who want to stage support vigils may obtain information and vigil packets from Janet Gordon, Citizens Call, 126 S 1400 West St, Cedar City, UT 84720 (801) 586-6674.

##### **MICHIGAN**

• **Detroit** Discussion and slide show, "Whose Budget is it Anyway?" with Lillian Genser. *Contact:* Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, see **January 20**, Michigan.

##### **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

• Talk, "Halacha and Nuclear Weapons: A Jewish Religious View," by Rabbi Gerald Serotta; Hillel House, George Washington University, 2129 F St NW. *Contact:* David Fleishman (202) 745-3558.

#### **JANUARY 28**

##### **PENNSYLVANIA**

• **Bryn Mawr** Conference, "Christian Faith and the Nuclear Arms Race: Responsibility and Response," with Dr. Walter Wink, Libby Frank, and others; Church of the Redeemer, through Jan 29. *Contact:* Philadelphia Theological Institute, Remington at Dover Rd, Penn Wynne, PA 19151 (215) 896-8066.

##### **TEXAS**

• **Fort Worth** Regional Texas and Oklahoma ecumenical peace and disarmament meeting, following up the November Fellowship of Reconciliation

meeting. *Contact:* Paul Hunter, 5544 N. Colony, Lewisville, TX 75056 (214) 370-3805.

#### **JANUARY 29**

##### **FLORIDA**

• **Fort Meyers** Forum on nuclear arms with speakers from Physicians for Social Responsibility and the Center for Defense Information; Bishop Berot High School. *Contact:* Marguerite Marczan, Route 13, Box 600, Fort Meyers, FL 33908 (813) 482-8212.

##### **LOUISIANA**

• **Baton Rouge** Statewide freeze strategy planning meeting. *Contact:* Steve Friesen, Center for Disarmament Education, P.O. Box 23790, Baton Rouge, LA 70893 (504) 383-0532.

##### **SOUTH CAROLINA**

• **Charleston** Freeze training workshop. *Contact:* Ken Lesgawa, P.O. Box 362, Charleston, SC 29402 (803) 886-4538.

#### **JANUARY 30**

##### **NEW YORK**

• **New York** Film, "Gandhi," to benefit New York area peace and disarmament groups, including Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, WESPAC, Westchester Clergy and Laity Concerned, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, and others; Ziegfeld Theater. *Contact:* WESPAC, 255 Grove St, Box 488, White Plains, NY 10602 (914) 682-0488.

#### **JANUARY 31**

##### **MARYLAND**

• **Wheaton** Educational meeting on crisis relocation plans in Montgomery County, with discussion by county legislators; Wheaton Center, 2424 Reedy Dr. *Contact:* Ruth Pinkson, Maryland Women Strike for Peace, (301) 946-8037.

#### **FEBRUARY 1**

##### **MICHIGAN**

• **Detroit** Talk, "U.S.-Soviet Relations: The Arms Race and Co-existence," by Robert Miller. *Contact:* Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, see **January 27**, Michigan.

#### **FEBRUARY 2**

##### **CALIFORNIA**

• **W. Hollywood** "Fallout Fashion Show," an antinuclear fashion show with musical and theatrical performances; Budd Friedman's Improvisation, 8162 Melrose Av. *Contact:* Target LA: The Art of Survival, Joyce Dallal (213) 937-9238.

#### **FEBRUARY 3**

##### **FLORIDA**

• **Tallahassee** Talk by Retired Admiral Eugene Carroll of the Center for Defense Information; Florida State University. *Contact:* Ira Shorr, P.O. Box 20168, Tallahassee, FL 32304 (904) 222-5845.

##### **KANSAS**

• **N. Newton** The Peace lecture series begins at Bethel College, N. Newton, KS 67117 (316) 283-2500.

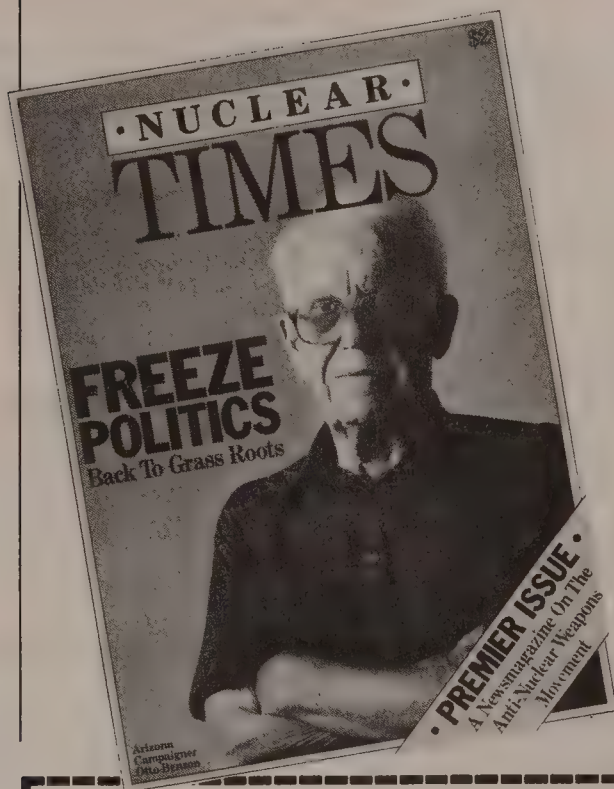
—Compiled by Walter Lew  
with Renata Rizzo and Alex Sichel

The deadline for submitting February calendar events is January 3.



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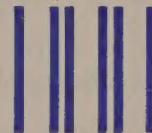
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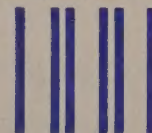
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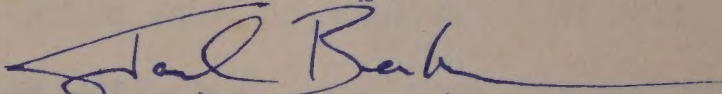
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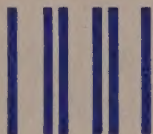
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